

# THE SCOTTISH REVIEW.

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## ART. I.—LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN SCOTLAND.

1. *The County Councillor's Guide.* By H. HOBHOUSE and E. L. FANSHAW. 1888.
2. *Treatise on the Local Government Act, 1888.* By W. A. HOLDSWORTH. 1888.
3. *Local Government in Scotland.* By Messrs. H. GOUDY and W. C. SMITH. 1880.
4. *Local Government and Taxation in the United Kingdom.* Published under the auspices of Cobden Club.
5. *Memorandum by Lord Advocate M'LAREN on Local Government in Scotland, dated 6th April, 1881.*

THE Government have announced a new Local Government Bill for Scotland as one of the first questions to be brought under consideration of the House of Commons next session. The subject of Local Government is one of importance. It has already engaged, and is at the present moment engaging, great attention in the sister kingdom of England. The Act recently carried through Parliament under the charge of Mr. Ritchie has introduced great changes, and probably as a necessary consequence, has aroused considerable feeling throughout the length and breadth of the country. It appears, however, beyond doubt, that a new system was urgently

required, that further representation in the institutions having the charge of Local Government in England and Wales had become essential, and that there was an urgent demand for greater efficiency and simplicity in Local Authorities. Changes such as that just made are always distasteful to those who have given their attention, care and time to the management of local affairs; they are apt to consider that the existing system can hardly be improved. It is certainly true that in many cases the management was excellent, and it is probably also true that neither economy nor increased efficiency will be secured at the outset, particularly in purely rural districts. It is beyond the province of the writer to give any opinion on these matters, with which he is but imperfectly acquainted. The following quotation from an essay by Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice on 'The Areas of Rural Government' may be usefully given for the information of Scotch readers:—

'The actual making of the rates as a charge on the various hereditaments in the parish lies with the overseers, who are appointed annually by the Justices, and from time to time receive precepts from the various spending authorities, whether representing the Union, the Highway Board, the Sanitary Authority, or the Parish itself, and they assess the amount upon the valuation for which each hereditament figures in the parochial list as issued by the Union Assessment Committee. The poor rate, as shewn above, is in reality a consolidated rate for some purposes, but the reform in this respect is only just begun. "Every one knows," said Mr. Goschen, in a recent speech, "that the first reform is to consolidate all rates, and to have one demand note for all rates, and a single authority for levying the rate and distributing the proceeds amongst such other authorities as have power to call for contributions. It is astonishing that this should not have been done already. Let me give you my personal experience. I myself received in one year 87 demand notes on an aggregate valuation of about £1100. One parish alone sent me eight rate papers for an aggregate amount of 12s. 4d. The intricacies of imperial finance are simplicity itself compared with this local financial chaos. I will waste no words on a reform so universally demanded, only it ought to be carried out.'"

The new Local Government Act for England does not profess to remedy all the objections above referred to. It does not deal with parochial management, and it did not appear expedient that it should do so. It is, however, largely connected with provisions specially applicable to the metropolis and



special counties and liberties. It makes great changes in the management and conduct of local government throughout England, and it would seem to be proper for this paper to give for the benefit of Scotch readers, a short description of its main provisions, to be followed by some account of the Scotch system as at present existing, and concluding with suggestions for the improvement and development of that system. Partly owing to the amount of attention which has been bestowed within the last year on the subject in England, and partly owing to the greater simplicity of the Scotch system as at present in vogue, it is hoped and expected that comparatively little difficulty will be felt in the adoption of a new measure for Scotland. A Scotchman may be pardoned for stating that the practice of Local Government in Scotland appears to have been considerably in advance of the English system, in respect to simplicity, exactitude, and economical management.

Prior to the passing of the new Act, the management of local affairs in the rural districts of England was vested in the County Magistrates, nominated by the Lord Chancellor on the recommendation of the Lord Lieutenant. The Magistrates were selected for the most part from the landowners, and the more important duties entrusted to them were performed at Quarter Sessions under the presidency of a chairman, usually selected from men who had been bred to the Bar or other business pursuits. Much of the actual conduct of business was intrusted to Standing Committees. The Quarter Sessions by themselves or their Committees, took charge of the County Police affairs, the Asylums, the Highways of the County, the administration of the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts, questions under the Public Health Act, and other details of a similar nature. They were intrusted also with the management of the County finance and taxation, and they levied the necessary assessments by precepts addressed to the various Unions. By the new Act, a County Council is established in each County for the purpose of managing its administrative and financial business. This Council is to consist of a chairman, aldermen, and councillors, the chairman being chosen by the Council. The 'aldermen,' an expression which conveys

little meaning to a Scotch reader, seem to have been introduced into the composition of the Council with the view of modifying the democratic element. They form one quarter of the Council, and are elected by the Council, not by the rate-payers. For instance, in a county having a Council of 60, the aldermen would number 15, and the elected councillors 45. The Local Government Board determine the number of councillors for each county, and it then becomes the duty of the Quarter Sessions to divide the county into electoral divisions, each returning one councillor. So far as the writer is aware, these electoral divisions possess considerable population. Thus in a county having a population of 300,000, the whole Council may probably consist of from 60 to 70 members, and each electoral division has between 5000 and 6000 inhabitants. It seems likely that under the former system the number of magistrates would be at least 300, although it is no doubt the case that a great number of them would take no interest in county affairs. The election of councillors is to be conducted by ballot, the voters being the county electors registered under the new County Elector's Act; but including unmarried women. Every adult (except a married woman) who has for twelve months occupied within the county any building whatever or land of £10 yearly value, is entitled to be registered as a county elector and to vote in one electoral division.

The question of boroughs within administrative counties seems to have been one which caused great diversity of opinion during the passing of the Act. In the Bill as originally introduced, only the ten largest towns in the kingdom were dealt with as separate counties. Ultimately, however, all boroughs having 50,000 inhabitants were included, and thus have the power of managing their own affairs through their own Councils. All boroughs with fewer than 50,000 inhabitants form part of the county, and are entitled to send a certain number of councillors to the County Council. The Local Government Board determines which municipal boroughs are to return one or more councillors to represent them separately, and the boroughs may be divided into separate electoral divisions if possessing a large population. In such a case as above mentioned, a borough of

20,000 inhabitants would probably return 3 members to the County Council.

The County Councils when elected are invested with all the ordinary administrative powers of Quarter Sessions, such as, county finance, rating, and assessment, the management of county buildings, asylums, county bridges, registration and polling of Parliamentary electors, Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts, weights and measures, maintenance and repair of main roads and highways, and numerous other minor matters. They have power also to oppose Bills in Parliament, and to take legal proceedings to protect the interest of the county, as also power to make bye-laws for the government of the county or any part thereof.

The management of the Police and the appointment of the chief constable was one of the questions giving rise to much discussion during the passage of the Bill through Parliament, and it was ultimately determined that these powers should be vested in the Quarter Sessions and County Council jointly, and be exercised through a standing committee consisting of an equal number of Justices and members of the County Council. The standing Joint Committee has the power to appoint and remove the Clerk of the Peace who is to be the Clerk of the County Council,\* and to determine all questions respecting the use of county buildings by Quarter Sessions or the Justices of the County.

There are important provisions in the Act with respect to the appointment of auditors and the powers which the auditors will possess to make disallowances in auditing the accounts of the Councils.

A very important portion of the Act refers to the transfer of revenue from the Exchequer to the funds of the various County Councils in aid of the local rates. In place of making grants in aid of the police, roads, medical relief, pauper lunatics, etc., it is enacted that a fixed portion of the Probate Duty shall be distributed among the several counties in proportion to the

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\* This power does not extend to the person in office at the passing of the Act, who becomes the Clerk of the Council in right of office.

share which the local County Board certify to have been received by each county during the financial year ending 31st March last out of the grants heretofore made by the Exchequer in aid of local rates. It may be recollected that in the Bill as originally introduced it was proposed to distribute the Probate Duty grant among the counties according to the number of indoor paupers maintained in the unions within each county, and the county was to make the guardians a grant of 4d. a day for every indoor pauper maintained by them. It was, however, ultimately decided that for the present the amount should be distributed in proportion to the shares received for the past financial year by the several counties out of the grants in aid. It is estimated that a transfer of revenue to the amount of about £5,000,000 will take place from the Imperial Exchequer to the County Councils; but the County Councils are tied down to apply the sum so received to the same purposes as the former Parliamentary grants were applied, viz., to the police, roads, pauper lunatics, medical relief, etc. In addition to the share of Probate Duty the Act provides that after the financial year ending on 31st March 1889, the Commissioners of Inland Revenue are to pay into the Bank of England to an account to be called the Local Taxation Account, the proceeds of all the licenses, afterwards to be called local taxation licenses, specified in a schedule to the Act. After the amount so collected in each county has been ascertained, it will be paid under the direction of the Local Government Board out of this Local Taxation Account to the Council of each county. The licenses in question may be briefly described as public house or other licenses for the sale of excisable liquors; the dog, game, and gun licenses, and licenses for carriages, male servants, armorial bearings, with others of a general character. The same section of the Act provides that by an order in Council, made on the recommendation of the Treasury, the power to levy these duties may be transferred to the County Councils, after which such Councils and their officers shall have the same power to issue licenses and to collect the duties as the Commissioners of Inland Revenue at present possess. This is a most valuable provision, and it may

be expected that County Councils will, from their more intimate local knowledge, and from the local application of the taxes, be in a much more satisfactory position for the efficient collection of them than the Government officials at present are. It is also contemplated that the change will have a sound economical effect, as the present system, by which the greater the local expenditure is the larger is the grant made, cannot be defended.

It is beyond the limits of this paper to refer to the special provisions of the Act in regard to its application to boroughs. As already mentioned, the large towns having a population of not less than 50,000 are to be completely separate and independent counties. All other boroughs form part of the county for the purposes of the Act; but 'Quarter Sessions Boroughs' with a population of 10,000 are left with a large measure of local and municipal independence. Quarter Sessions boroughs with a smaller population than 10,000, and all other small boroughs will practically be managed by the Councils of the counties in which they are situated.

Having thus given a general description of the Act just passed for England, I will now proceed to state the mode of County Government at present existing in Scotland which is founded upon numerous Acts of Parliament, some of them dating back to considerable antiquity.

It is necessary to premise that there are two great and striking differences in the management of county affairs as administered in England and in the sister kingdom of Scotland. In the first place, in Scotland there is practically no administrative duty resting upon the Justices of the Peace, as such, that duty being discharged by a body termed Commissioners of Supply. Justices of the Peace in Scotland appear to have occupied at one time a more important position than they do now, and it was probably designed when they were first constituted that they should have similar powers and duties to those entrusted to the Justices of the Peace in England. The appointment of the Justices of the Peace in that country, generally called Magistrates, dates back to a very early period, and it is stated that the Commission soon proved of such utility

and importance as to draw from Sir Edward Coke this eulogy: 'The whole Christian world hath not the like of it if it be duly executed.' In Scotland, the first institution of Justices of the Peace appears to have been due to a statute passed in the 11th Parliament of James VI., whereby it is enacted that within every shire in the kingdom there shall be yearly appointed some godly, wise and virtuous gentlemen of good quality to be commissioners for keeping his Majesty's peace. It does not seem, however, that the Justices so appointed took much pains to act until after the Union, since which, down to the present time, Justices of the Peace have been named by a Commission passing under the Great Seal. As a matter of practice, they are recommended by the Lord Lieutenant of the county to the Lord Chancellor, for the time being, who issues a commission of the Peace in their favour. It may be mentioned that in Scotland Justices require no qualification of rank or property.

The duties of Justices of the Peace in Scotland are practically confined to the administration of the Licensing Acts, for the regulation of public-houses and other houses for the sale of exciseable liquors, and the trying of petty offences such as breaches of the peace, assaults, cases under the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts, and cases under the Licensing Statutes. They hold four Quarter Sessions in the year, but there is seldom any business, with the exception of appeals relating to the granting or refusing of licenses under the last mentioned Acts. They have a civil jurisdiction in small debt cases, but such cases are usually now disposed of by the Sheriff. It must not be inferred, however, from the above remarks that the duties of the Justices of the Peace are not important. As a matter of fact, they are of great service to the community, and in several counties they dispose of a large proportion of the cases that are tried, the counties being divided into districts for that purpose. For instance, in the County of Ayr, out of 3,200 persons apprehended or cited for criminal offences during the year 1887, 1124 were tried before the Justices of the Peace, and 527 before the Sheriff.

The second point of difference between England and



Scotland in the administration of county affairs is that in England, until the passing of the new Act, the county rates, although imposed by the Justices, were levied upon the occupiers of property within the county. In Scotland, on the contrary, these rates are imposed and levied upon the proprietors alone so far as regards what are commonly called 'county' purposes. This observation of course does not apply to parochial rates administered by bodies within the parish, nor does it apply to the road rates levied under the recent statute known as the Roads and Bridges (Scotland) Act, 1878. In these cases the rates are levied upon proprietors and occupiers equally, with the exception of any rate that may be imposed for the payment of debt, or for new roads or bridges; which fall upon proprietors alone. It may also be mentioned that under the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts the rate may be levied either from proprietors or occupiers, with a right in each case for the party on whom the rate is levied to recover one half from the other. In many counties it is understood that the rate is levied upon the proprietors, and that they do not recover from the tenants, at least, unless the rate is one of considerable consequence.

As already mentioned, the Commissioners of Supply in Scotland are the County Authority, which at present has the charge of nearly all the county business with the exception of the roads. At one time, roads, bridges, and ferries were managed jointly by the Commissioners of Supply and the Justices of the Peace, but as the management of roads and their adjuncts is now conducted entirely under the statute of 1878, it is unnecessary to refer particularly to the former mode of management.

Commissioners of Supply were originally constituted for the purpose of levying the land tax and adjusting the valuations of the several lands in each county. Commissioners were first established by the Act of Convention, 1667, and their appointment was continued by yearly Acts until the passing of the 38 George III., c. 60, by which the land tax was made perpetual, and the Commissioners previously named were appointed to collect it. The Cess or Land Tax appears to have



been imposed upon Scotland nearly in its present shape by two Acts of Cromwell's Parliament, by which it was provided that every shire should be burdened with a certain quota of the General Assessment, to be apportioned by the Commissioners among the several land-holders according to the rates at which they are valued. The amount of the land tax was afterwards fixed by the Treaty of Union at the sum of £48,000 as the quota for Scotland. The amount falling upon each county fell to be raised out of the subjects valued by the Commissioners appointed by the Act of Convention, 1667, and it is still raised, in all cases where it has not been redeemed, from the different properties in the county, according to what is termed the old valuation—a valuation understood to have been made about the year last mentioned. The Commissioners are still in use to divide and apportion the amount of land tax, between different properties on the occasion of a sale or transfer. That duty indeed was of considerable importance prior to the passing of the Reform Act, 1832, as the amount of the old valuation regulated a freeholder's qualification. The Commissioners have, however, no power to alter the amount of the tax; that is to say, supposing the amount of Cess or Land Tax falling on a certain property to amount to £100, they can divide it among separate portions of that property, but they cannot reduce or augment the whole amount. As a matter of fact, the levying of the Cess by Commissioners of Supply is not now of any importance, and their duties in regard to that business is nominal. It would be much better to allow it to be assessed in the same way as any other Imperial tax.

Until the passing of the Valuation Act, 1854, the qualification for being a Commissioner of Supply was the possession of £100 Scots of valued rent (which may be roughly estimated as equal to a valuation of about £300 a year of real rent) and being named in an Act of Supply; but parties who held the office of Justice of the Peace, and possessed the qualifications, did not require to be named in such an Act. This system continued in force until the Act of 1854, when under the Valuation Act just mentioned, the quali-

fication was changed to the possession of property of yearly value in the county of £100 a year. The eldest son and heir apparent of proprietors of £400 a year, and the factors of proprietors possessing £800 a year are also qualified to act. For the purpose of the qualification, buildings not connected with agriculture are taken at one half their annual value. Subsequent statutes were passed regulating the enrolment of Commissioners on claims lodged: such claims being examined after the production of titles by a committee appointed for the purpose. As under the recent Road Act all Commissioners of Supply are entitled to be Road Trustees, a considerable impulse has been given of late to the desire for enrolment. For instance, in the County of Ayr, the total number of Commissioners enrolled in the year 1869 amounted to 125, whereas at present the total number enrolled is 338.

Since the passing of the Valuation Act in 1854, the duties and responsibilities of Commissioners of Supply have very largely increased. They now administer the general finance and government of the county, and a large sum of money is yearly levied and administered by them. In an appendix I have given some details of the expenditure of County Local Government administered by the Commissioners of Supply in some of the counties of Scotland, from which an idea will be obtained of the extent of their business functions. In the conduct of their business it has been found expedient to appoint Committees or Boards for its more efficient discharge. The Committees in general use are as follows, viz.:

The Finance Committee.

The Valuation Committee.

The Court Houses Committee, and

The Committee for enrolment of Commissioners.

In addition to these there is a Prison Visiting Committee, and a District Lunacy Board; but these two are not confined to the Commissioners of Supply, representatives from the burghs, and it may be from more counties than one being members of them. The Commissioners of Supply further name one half of the members of the Local Authority under the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts, the other half of that Authority

being appointed from among the tenant farmers in the county at a meeting convened by the Clerk of Supply.

The General Finance of the County, exclusive of that devoted to special purposes, is regulated by the Act 31 and 32 Vict., c. 82, known as the County General Assessment Act. Before that Act was passed the Rogue Money Act (11 George I. c. 26) imposed upon the Commissioners of Supply the duty of levying an assessment known as Rogue Money, for defraying the charges incident to the apprehension, maintenance, and prosecution of suspected criminals. As a matter of fact, a great proportion of such expense was defrayed by the Crown, and the Rogue Money Assessment was not unfrequently applied to purposes other than those specified in the Act. It was found essential therefore to pass the County General Assessment Act. From the assessment imposed in virtue of this Act, fell to be provided (1) the salaries and outlays of clerks, treasurers, collectors, auditors, and other officials necessarily employed in conducting the affairs in each county; (2) the salaries and outlays of Procurators Fiscal in the Sheriff and Justice of the Peace Courts, so far as were formerly in use to be paid by each county; (3) expenses incurred in searching for, apprehending, subsisting, prosecuting, or punishing criminals; (4) the expenses connected with the keeping up of Court Houses or other County Buildings; (5) the expenses connected with striking the Fiars' Prices for each county; (6) the expenses of damage done by riotous assemblies and those incurred in the prevention of such assemblies; (7) the expenses previously directed by Act of Parliament to be defrayed out of the Rogue Money. It may be observed that the Commissioners have been in use to petition in favour of or against Parliamentary Bills affecting Scotland, but there is no authority given them to incur or assess for expenses in promoting or opposing any Parliamentary Bill. The County General Assessment is not generally a heavy one. The fines recovered from offenders go a long way to meet the expense of their prosecution before the Justices of the Peace Courts, and the expenses of all other prosecutions are defrayed by the Crown. Recently, particularly in counties where minerals are worked, the expense

of the administration of the Weights and Measures Acts has considerably increased, owing to the inspection required at coal or iron mines; but as a general rule it is thought that the County General Assessment does not exceed from a halfpenny to three farthings in the £ of real rental. In this is included retiring allowances, so far as falling on the county, payable to retired Prison Officials, and grants to Industrial Schools or Training Ships.

One of the most important purposes falling under the administration of the Commissioners of Supply is that relating to the County Police. The leading statute in regard to this subject is the Act 20 and 21 Vict., c. 72, under which the Police affairs are managed by the committee called the Police Committee, appointed annually at the General Meeting, and of which the Lord Lieutenant and the Sheriff are *ex officio* members. Certain burghs, if incorporated with the county, have also the power of appointing a restricted number of members. To the Police Committee is entrusted the appointment of the Chief Constable of the county, subject to the approval of the Secretary of State. It takes charge likewise of all other matters relating to the Police, although the details of appointing of officers are left in the hands of the Chief Constable. In nearly every Scottish county a considerable force has thus been established, and an efficient system of Police supervision is exercised over the whole country. It is sufficiently obvious that a considerable amount of duty is thus thrown upon the Police Committee in all counties of importance, and the expenditure is consequently large, as shewn in the abstract given in the appendix already mentioned. There is a Government subvention now amounting to half the cost of the pay and clothing of the force, but notwithstanding this large grant the expense of the constabulary force falling upon counties is considerable, amounting as a rule to fully one half of the total County Rates. Like other such rates, the assessment is levied entirely upon proprietors, including, however, proprietors of houses and all urban subjects except those comprised within royal and parliamentary burghs in the county. Even in the case of such burghs it is not uncommon to have an amalga-

tion with the county. It is provided by the Act that Police Districts may be formed with different numbers of constables, according to requirement, which division into districts and apportionment of constables require the approval of a Secretary of State. Where districts are formed, the expense is divided into general and local, and this power is of considerable advantage in relieving districts where there is little crime, and consequently no necessity for a large police force.

The Valuation Act 17 and 18 Vict. Cap. 91, to which there appears to be nothing corresponding in England, was passed in 1854, and has proved a most valuable statute for the purpose of regulating and furnishing means for levying assessments. Before it was passed, it was usual to assess on the old valuation, although there was a provision in a previous statute for assessing upon the real rent by making a valuation, which, however, possessed no great authority. The Valuation Act of 1854 created the machinery by which all properties, both in counties and burghs, are valued yearly, and there is a power of appeal to a committee which sits after the 10th of September in each year, when the Roll is completed. It may at first have appeared unnecessary to make up the Roll each year, but the enactment has proved a wise one, and the Valuation Roll affords a very complete system for the collection both of county and parochial rates. It may be interesting to note that in the County of Ayr the total valuation for the year 1855-6, —the year when the Act was first in full operation— amounted, including railways, to £665,450, and that for the year 1887-8 it amounted to £1,051,814. There was a steady increase for many years, but since year 1884-5, there has been a decrease of about £80,000.

The Registration of Voters is carried out by the Assessor appointed under the Valuation Act, whose duty it is to make up the Roll of Voters for Parliamentary Elections—a duty much increased since the passing of the last Reform Act. This Roll, when so made up, is submitted to the Sheriff, who disposes of any claims and objections made by the agents of the different parliamentary parties, and thereafter the Roll is printed under the direction of the Sheriff, but at the expense of

the county. The system is not altogether satisfactory, as the dual management of the Sheriff and the Commissioners of Supply is apt to create unnecessary expense.

The leading Statute regulating the management of District Asylums in Scotland is the 20 and 21 Vic., c. 71, and under it the charge of all such asylums rests with the District Board of Lunacy, which is composed of Commissioners of Supply with the addition of one member from each burgh in the county or district. When the burghs are numerous, they do not each send a member to the Board. In a good many counties in Scotland, the district of the Lunacy Board is commensurate with the county, but in many others two or more counties are combined. The District Board acts, however, quite independently of the Commissioners of Supply, and appoints its own clerk, who is in most cases a distinct officer from the Clerk of Supply. These boards have the entire management of the County Asylums within their district, and annually intimate to the Commissioners of Supply the sum to be assessed upon the county for what is termed the 'Providing Account,' that is, the sum required to meet the expenditure for the first erection, additions, maintenance, repairs, and furniture of asylums, and grounds. The District Board in the first place fixes the total amount required for the Providing Account, and the amount is reported to the General Board of Lunacy in Edinburgh. The General Board divides and apportions the gross amount between the landward part of the county and the various burghs therein; and as already mentioned, the Commissioners of Supply at their annual meeting make an assessment to provide the amount so laid upon the County. The assessments leviable from the burghs are imposed by the various Town Councils, and it is their duty to pay the amount falling upon them to the clerk and treasurer of the District Board, on a certain date fixed. The General Board of Lunacy has a right of supervision over the actings of the District Boards; and the District Asylums are subject to inspection by Commissioners in Lunacy. The Providing Account is intended in all cases where Asylums have been already erected (which is the common case) to meet only the expense of repairs, the payment of



any debt incurred in the erection of buildings or purchase of grounds, and such relative expenses. The maintenance of the patients within the asylum, which is, of course, a much larger annual item than that for repairs, etc., is dealt with under the head of Maintenance Account, and the Parochial Boards within the district pay for the maintenance of each patient sent by them, according to a fixed scale laid down by the District Board. This scale falls to be fixed at such an amount as will one year with another meet the ordinary and regular expense of maintenance. The Parochial Boards receive from Government a subvention of 4s. a week for each pauper lunatic sent by the Parochial Board to the asylum, and the rate of maintenance varies from about 8s. 6d. to 12s. per week. It has sometimes been stated as a grievance by Parochial Boards that, although they contribute with the aid of the Government grant to the total sum required for the maintenance of the whole inmates of the asylum, they have no voice in the management. It will be observed from what has been already stated, that, although the District Board may be said practically to be appointed by the Commissioners of Supply in each year, it neither acts as a committee of the Commissioners nor makes any report to them; nor is its expenditure at present included in the published accounts, etc., of the county expenditure, except in so far as it relates to the assessment for the Providing Account imposed upon the county. The whole accounts are annually submitted to the General Board, and are published by it.

By the Roads and Bridges Act of 1878 an entirely new system for the management of Roads and Bridges in Scotland was introduced. Under this Act all tolls ceased to be leviable in the year 1883. In many counties they had already, in virtue of local Acts, ceased to be levied, but at the time mentioned they still remained very commonly in force. By the Act of 1878 it was enacted that the following persons should constitute the County Road Trustees, viz.: (1) all Commissioners of Supply of the County; (2) one person appointed by each Corporation or incorporated Company assessed as owner of £800 or upwards; (3) the following persons, called 'elected Trus-



tees,' to be elected once in every three years by the ratepayers from among their own number, in each parish wholly or partly situated in the county; that is to say, (a) where the number of ratepayers does not exceed 500, two persons; (b) where the number of ratepayers exceeds 500, but does not exceed 1000, three persons; (c) where the number of ratepayers exceeds 1000, four persons; and (4) two persons deemed to be elected Trustees appointed from time to time from among their own number by the Commissioners of Police of any Police Burgh within or partly within the County, a Police Burgh being a burgh which does not exceed 5000 in population. Where any burgh has had its roads transferred to the Trustees under the Act, the Provost or Chief Magistrate and one member of the Town Council, or the Senior or Chief Magistrate and one of the Commissioners of Police become members of the County Road Trust. The mode of election of the representatives of Burghs and of the Parish Ratepayers is by open vote. It is the duty of the Trustees to appoint at their annual general meeting a County Road Board consisting of not more than 30 members, of which not less than a third nor more than a half are chosen from the elected Trustees. The Chairman appointed by the Trustees is *ex officio* Chairman of the Board.

In the ordinary working of the Road Act, it has been found expedient to divide most counties into districts under the charge of a District Committee, and as in the Road Board, not less than a third nor more than a half of the District Committee must consist of elected trustees from parishes, burghs or police burghs, within the district. In each of these districts there is a clerk, a treasurer, and a surveyor. The District Committees report their proceedings to the Road Board, along with suggestions as to the amount of assessment required in each district, and the Road Board again makes a report to the general body of trustees who alone have the power of imposing assessments. In practice, the general meeting passes, as a matter of course, the assessments recommended to be imposed.

With regard to the assessment, it has to be explained that the rate for the management and maintenance of the roads is imposed by the trustees at a uniform rate on all lands and

heritages within the district, and is payable, one half by the owners, the other half by tenants and occupiers. The same rule does not, however, obtain with respect to assessments for payment of road debts, or for the formation of new roads or bridges, both of which assessments are payable by proprietors only; and in all questions relative thereto the elected trustees have no vote. There is a provision in the Act by which the trustees may either collect the assessments themselves or require the Commissioners of Supply to do so, but it is understood that in practice, the Road Trustees do for the most part follow the system of collecting the assessments themselves. The assessment within burghs is much the same as within the county.

In what is above written I have endeavoured to give a short and popular account of the present system of County Local Government—a system which on the whole has proved efficacious and has been found to answer well the purposes for which it was designed. It is sufficiently obvious, however, that considerable changes are in view, and indeed, since the passing of the English Act of last Session, it is clear that some similar local Government enactment for Scotland is imminent. It is to be hoped that these changes when made may be beneficial; and, although there may be no great urgency for them, still it is apparent that in many respects the present system may be consolidated and improved. I have not referred at all to the question of Parochial reorganization, because such was not attempted in the English Act, and it was found impossible to introduce into that statute provision for the simplification of existing complications of assessment and rating within parishes. The Act also left untouched the urban and sanitary Authorities previously in existence. It is no doubt true that the Parochial management is of great and increasing importance. The administration of the Poor Law, which is entrusted to a Parochial Board elected within each parish, occupies much attention, and is concerned with the assessment and distribution of large sums. It can hardly be doubted that the mode of appointment of a Parochial Board is capable of improvement, but it does not seem practicable to enter upon such a reform in the first Local Government Bill.

The administration of the Education Act is confined to a School Board, also elected within the parish, and the Education Act of 1872 makes it compulsory to have a School Board in every parish, burgh, or district. The Education Act has no doubt given a great impulse to the progress of education, but the cost has been very large and in many places it now equals or exceeds the amount required for the Poor Rate. As there are no Unions or Districts in Scotland the result of making it compulsory to have a School Board in each parish is that in each such area a Clerk, Treasurer, and School Board Officer are required, so that in many, if not most cases, it now costs more to put the machinery in motion than it did formerly to provide a salary for the schoolmaster. It would be a highly important reform if the district elections within the parish could be combined, and it would appear to be quite feasible to have one body elected which might act as Parochial Board and School Board, and also have the charge of the sanitary purposes of the parish. It would, however, it is thought, be imprudent to attempt any such reform in a new Local Government Act for the present, and if those who are charged with the promotion of the measure deem it right to restrict themselves to what may be called purely county purposes, the probability is that a useful and wise measure might be passed without any very great difficulty.

A preliminary question and one of considerable difficulty must be faced at the outset, before it is determined on what lines any new government body is to be formed. That question relates to the assessments. It has already been mentioned that one great difference between the systems in vogue in England and Scotland lies in the circumstance that in the former country county assessments have been in use to be imposed upon occupiers, while in the latter they have, with the exception of the road rate and assessment under the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts, been imposed only on proprietors. The word proprietor, of course, includes the owners of a large amount of urban property as well as public works, harbours, railways, and other such subjects. If it should be thought to be necessary or expedient to change the imposition of the

assessment to include all occupiers, it is obvious that the rates would become much more difficult and expensive to collect, and that the proprietors themselves would receive little or no benefit. In an able article by Mr. Macdonald on 'Local Government and Taxation in Scotland,' published under the sanction of the Cobden Club, it is suggested that the occupiers would probably have no objection to pay a portion of the rates if they were allowed the privilege of voting in the election of those who are to manage them, although in a subsequent portion of the article it is stated that while the assessments are not formidable, the author has not been able to discover anything like a general desire among Scotch tenants to share them, and so qualify for seats at the County Board. The assessments, however, the author proceeds to say, are so light that if a portion of them were laid on the tenantry, it would be no great barrier to what many think would be a desirable county reform. The writer of this article believes the opinion will be very generally entertained that the occupiers would much prefer not to be assessed rather than have any power to vote in the election of members in the County Board.

It is unquestionably rather difficult to suggest that the intended Act for Scotland should proceed on entirely different lines from the recent English Act, but if it be kept in mind that the county rates in Scotland have for a long period been levied upon owners, that the system has proved satisfactory, and that no strong desire for a change has been expressed, it is hoped that means may be found to retain the present system of assessment much on its present lines, and still to provide for a more popular system of County Government. It is apparent that the present system of representation is, in theory at least, faulty in respect that the Commissioners of Supply consist exclusively of owners of £100 a year in land or £200 a year in houses, and that the large body of urban proprietors who are owners of houses and tenements not reaching to such a value, are in point of fact not represented. The chief magistrates of burghs, whether royal, or parliamentary, or police, are entitled to act as Commissioners of Supply, but the representation so given is of small amount. In any

new enactment it would therefore appear necessary to give such proprietors a right of election. The other consideration, and one of much importance, is that according to the new system, it is intended in place of Government Subventions in aid of the Police, etc., to hand over to the county body a large sum from Imperial taxation. That change seems likely to work very beneficially. The present system offers no inducement towards economy in management, and, indeed, has rather a contrary effect; while it must be obvious to any one who has paid attention to the subject, that if it be ultimately found possible, as it probably will be, to hand over to the county authority the collection of certain excise licenses, a great improvement would ensue. Nearly every resident in the country has observed the difficulty felt by the Excise in relation to the dog and gun licenses. It has been pointed out that the Excise stations as a rule are so wide that it is simply impossible for a Revenue Officer, with his limited local knowledge and his other important duties, to check all these licenses. In most Scotch counties the Excise stations extend over several hundred square miles. If the licenses I have mentioned were placed under the management of the Constabulary, they could be thoroughly looked after without interference with any other duties of the police. It is a subject of common complaint that the dog and gun taxes are greatly evaded, and in one of their reports the Commissioners of Inland Revenue have stated that the collection of these taxes continues to occasion an amount of trouble quite disproportionate to their productiveness. Assuming therefore that a considerable proportion of the Imperial taxation is to be handed over to the management of the new authority, it would appear to be quite feasible to confer the right of election upon those who have a right to vote for Parliamentary representatives without making any great change in the incidence of the rates. The question of road rates and management of the roads will be hereafter specially referred to.

Under the English Act a County Council is to be elected for each county, and the persons who have the right to elect such Council are, in a burgh, the burgesses enrolled in pursuance of the Municipal Corporation Acts, and in the county, the persons

registered as county electors. This may be taken to mean that all persons who are entitled to vote for a parliamentary representative are also entitled to vote in the election of a County Council with the important addition, that single women are entitled to vote, and that those possessing only the Service Franchise are not entitled. It must probably be assumed that, by whatever name it may be called, a governing body for each county in Scotland will be called into being, somewhat analogous to a County Council in England, and it appears to follow as a necessary consequence that the qualifications of electors will be the same as those already adopted in England. It is also probable that the number of the governing body will be about the same in proportion to population as in England. Without professing any exact knowledge it would appear that the number of electors in English counties for each member of Council is somewhere about 4000 to 6000. Thus in the county of Cumberland, with a population of about 200,000, it has been fixed that there are to be 49 councillors in all, and in the county of Derby, with a population of about 320,000, 59 councillors. These counties have been divided into electoral divisions, combining in most cases numerous parishes, and having a population in each district of from 4000 to 6000. It is not improbable that in a new Act for Scotland the county of Lanark may be dealt with in an exceptional way, as was done in the case of the Road Act. This paper would be quite incomplete without an indication of the writer's views as to the lines on which the new overseers ought to be based, and, although it is fully recognised that mere difference of opinion must exist, the following suggestions are offered:—

(1) That the governing body should be called the County Board and not the County Council, as the word Board is of much more common use in Scotland, and its powers and duties will in a great measure differ from those of a County Council in England.

(2) That the number of the Board for each County or Burgh should be fixed by the Secretary for Scotland.

(3) That in place of 'aldermen' a certain proportion, say from one third to one half, should be elected by the County



Board, and the remainder by the voters in districts, to be settled by them with an appeal to the Secretary for Scotland.

(4) The members of the Board to hold office for three years.

(5) The County Board to have power to appoint committees either for special purposes, such as Police and Lunacy, or for districts of the county under its charge.

A body constituted in this manner would, it is thought, be able to carry on efficiently the whole of the ordinary county business, including that at present discharged by the Commissioners of Supply, the County Boards under the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts, and the District Boards of Lunacy, although some provision would require to be made in detail for cases in which the districts comprehend more than one county.

There are two points on which difficulty will arise: first, with respect to the management of Roads and Bridges, and second, with respect to Burghs within the Counties.

The Roads and Bridges Act came into full operation only so recently as 1883. A considerable number of difficult questions have arisen under it, but at the present moment it is working well and giving general satisfaction. There would no doubt be considerable awkwardness in continuing the election of Road Trustees in each parish as well as having elected members of the County Board for much wider areas. But on the whole, it is thought that it would be highly inexpedient to force at present the combination of the Road Board with the suggested County Board. It is believed that it would be much better to confine the operation of the County Statute to those matters which have hitherto fallen directly under the management of the Commissioners of Supply, and to leave the County Road management for the present in the shape it has so recently assumed. Power may be given to the two bodies to arrange for consolidation; and, particularly in the matter of collecting the rates, such a power may be exercised with advantage. But it would be highly undesirable to sweep away a system which has just been put into practical working order. The more so is this the case, if the views of the present writer in regard to the incidence of county rates be adopted, as there



is no grievance in the imposition of one half of the Road Rate on the occupier. Most counties had, prior to the recent Road Act, what was called the Conversion Money Tax for parish roads laid entirely on occupiers, and the payment by occupiers in respect of Conversion Money amounted to nearly as much as they pay at present, independent altogether of the tolls from which they are now relieved. Those who feel the incidence of the Road Rate are the proprietors of considerable estates, frequently heavily burdened, and more particularly those who are non-resident. The remedy for that undue incidence is to allow a considerable grant from the Imperial Revenue towards the maintenance of main roads, which are a public benefit; and towards the expense of which the public ought to contribute.

As evidencing the expense connected with county roads, the following particulars are given for the various districts in the County of Ayr, shewing also the Government contribution in aid for the year ended 15th May, 1888. It is to be noted that the Government contribution was doubled for the year in question :—

	Total Expense of Management, Maintenance, and Repair of Highways.	Government Contribution.
District of Ayr,	£4446	£745
District of Beith and Largs,	4045	582
District of Irvine,	1985	319
District of Kilmarnock,	5485	918
District of Mauchline,	2454	350
District of Carrick,	5021	920
	<hr/> £23,436	<hr/> £3,834

The other point to which it seems necessary to refer is the manner in which Burghs are to be dealt with. It is probable that many questions may arise between the different Counties and Burghs within them, as to the manner in which the Government contributions are to be divided and apportioned between them. It is believed that there can be but little question that it is desirable to have as few different bodies as possible in the management of such matters as has been referred to throughout

this paper; but no doubt there will be a natural desire on the part of the Burghs to continue to administer their own affairs. Experience has shown however, that in such matters as Police and the like, there is a considerable disadvantage in having the management entrusted to different bodies, and it is to be hoped that much the same course may be followed in the Scotch Act as was ultimately adopted under the Act passed for England. In Mr. Macdonald's essay already quoted, he states 'that the management of Town affairs is generally more energetic, efficient, and popular than that of County matters.' It is to be feared, however, that this proposition may not meet with very general acceptance, but that on the contrary, the management within Counties is considered to be in advance of the ordinary Town Council. There is a large number of Royal Burghs in Scotland, amounting to 66 in all. Of this number, 55 send representatives to Parliament, and 11 do not. Coatbridge was created a Municipal Burgh by a special Act in 1885, and 15 Towns are not Royal Burghs, but send representatives to Parliament under the provisions of the Reform Acts. These are Airdrie, Cromarty, Falkirk, Galashiels, Greenock, Hamilton, Hawick, Kilmarnock, Leith, Musselburgh, Oban, Paisley, Peterhead, Port-Glasgow, and Portobello. Besides these there were four small Burghs in the County of Fife, which at the time of the Union were not included in the classes of Burghs then formed to send representatives to the British Parliament. The Burghs of Peebles and Rothesay form, so far as voting for Parliamentary representatives is concerned, part of their respective Counties; and nine Burghs namely Dunbar, Haddington, Jedburgh, Lauder, New Galloway, North-Berwick, Stranraer, Whithorn and Wigtown were by virtue of the Reform Act of 1885, constituted portions of the Counties in which they are situated for the purpose of electing Parliamentary representatives. Of the 66 Royal Burghs above mentioned, 13 only have a population of 20,000 and upwards. These are Aberdeen, Arbroath, Ayr, Dundee, Dunfermline, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Greenock, Kilmarnock, Kirkcaldy, Leith, Paisley and Perth; and it is suggested that these burghs should be put upon the same footing as the County Boroughs specified in the 3rd Schedule appended to the English Act. As already

stated, it is felt that much difference of opinion must exist on this question, but the writer has aimed at giving his views in such a manner as to bring it before the consideration of all who are interested in the settlement of it. The adoption of a principle similar to that followed in the English Act has much to recommend it.

Within the limits of this paper it has been found impossible to enter upon the question of District Councils or Boards, as to which there is likely to be early legislation in England. It has also been thought unnecessary to refer to wider questions, such as the power of a County Council or Board to recommend provisional orders for the execution of local works. It seems not improbable that the day will come when such a body may have the power of recommending to Parliament the issuing of 'provisional orders' for such purely local works without the necessity of expensive procedure in London, but it is evidently impossible to make this matter a subject of legislation in any Local Government Act at present, as time must be given to see the effect and working of the measure after it is passed. It has also been thought unnecessary to refer particularly to the question of the audit of County Accounts, as no doubt steps will be taken to insure the regular publication and audit of the financial statements of each Board when constituted. In a memorandum issued in April 1881, Lord Advocate M'Laren stated that it appeared desirable that an effectual public audit of accounts should be instituted, and that he was of opinion that, the duty might be undertaken by Government Officers, sent from the Audit Office in London at stated times to each County. As a reason for recommending such audit his Lordship stated that during the four months he had been in office, two public officers in Scotland had become defaulters, and had been deprived of their situations in consequence. Both were estimable men in other respects, and would probably not have lost office and reputation if their Accounts had been subjected to a periodical public audit.

This is a question also on which much difference of opinion is likely to exist. There can be no doubt of the propriety of an efficient and thorough audit, but it is likely that much objection

would be felt in Scotland, to an examination by Auditors from the Audit Office in London. If it should be thought inexpedient to allow the County governing body to appoint their own Auditor, the appointment might be given to the Sheriff of the County in the same way as is already the case under the Police Act. But it is recommended that the men, who are entrusted with the duty of administering the County affairs should also be entrusted with the appointment of the Auditor.

In conclusion, the writer of this article ventures to express a hope that the consideration of this important subject will be approached with a calm and impartial spirit, solely with the view of passing a statute which may be a credit to Scotland, and well designed to meet the varied and important objects in view. Scotland has now the advantage of a Secretary, who is charged with the special management of Scotch affairs, which are no longer left to be dealt with haphazard in the Home Office, by gentlemen to whom Scotch customs and Scotch laws are practically unknown. The Secretary for Scotland, as already suggested, may be empowered in reference to the Scotch measure to fill the same place as the Local Government Board does with the English measure, and it is believed that Scotchmen in general look with confidence to the present holder of office. Let us hope therefore that the ensuing Session of Parliament will witness the adoption of an efficient and satisfactory Act for this portion of the United Kingdom.

## APPENDIX.

**TABLE SHEWING THE WHOLE GOVERNMENT GRANTS FOR  
ONE YEAR PAYABLE IN ONE COUNTY (AYR).**

Police,	-	-	-	-	-	£5,406
Roads,	-	-	-	-	-	3,834
Lunacy,	-	-	-	-	-	4,196
Medical Relief,	-	-	-	-	-	1,064
Court Houses,	-	-	-	-	-	104
						<hr/>
						£14,604

STATEMENT OF EXPENDITURE FOR COUNTY PURPOSES  
BY THE FOLLOWING COUNTIES—YEAR 1887-88.

	County General Assessment.	Police.	Valua- tion.	Regis- tration of County Voters.	Lunacy.	Contagious Diseases (Animals).	TOTAL.
Ayr, - -	£1,931	£14,114	£555	£1,239	£2,096	£300	£20,235
Aberdeen, -	2,400	7,289	267	543	...	1,286	11,785
Edinburgh,	1,416	7,233	540	398	3,145	1,826	14,558
Fife, - -	1,363	8,528	262	450	2,266	2,126	14,995
Lanark, -	*10,805	26,989	Included in County General Assessment	1,659	2,492	16,324	58,269
Renfrew, -	3,110	10,814	162	545	...	770	15,401

\* Includes New Buildings at Hamilton, and damages incurred through Riots.

In addition to the above some Counties pay separately for Court Houses and Militia Stores.

The Total Rates are generally about 3d. per £, exclusive of Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act.

CHAS. G. SHAW.

## ART. II.—THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FAUST LEGEND.

IN a previous article\* I endeavoured to show that the Faust legend is much more than the mere vulgar story of a charlatan's adventures, and that its interest and importance are by no means confined to the fact that it was afterwards moulded into a great literary work. The legend represents the struggle in the sixteenth century between worldly and spiritual interests: it typifies the intellectual movements of that century in Germany; its activity in scientific or quasi-scientific discovery, intimately connected with the prevailing study of magic; the pagan aspect of its Humanism; the sceptical excesses of the Reformation; the farcical character of much of its popular literature. It is not an index of the highest thought of the

\* Vide *Scottish Review* for July, 1888.

time, but it exhibits the way in which the products of that thought were regarded by the common people. More especially is this the case in the indication it gives of the degrading nature of the popular religion, its intense absorption in the idea of retribution for sin, and its overwhelming consciousness of the devil as the most malignant foe of the human race. From this point of view it is evident that the legend possesses in itself a remarkable degree of interest quite apart from the world-wide fame of its literary development, and that, if Faust had never had any history at all beyond the earliest published records of his career, he would still have been remembered as a strange illustration of one of the most important epochs of modern thought.

The legend has had a variety of editors and commentators during the three hundred years of its existence, and in the last half-century a small library of books has been written on its origin and its literary development. Germany has naturally led the way in elucidating the history of one of her own popular heroes, and some of her ablest writers and critics have busied themselves with his fortunes. There are few educated Englishmen who do not know something of Goethe's Faust; but the interest attaching in this country to the Faust legend proper, so far as it does not arise in direct connection with the Elizabethan drama, is probably as yet little more than a reflection of that existing in Germany.

The latest book on the legend has been given to the world by a Frenchman,\* who in dealing with this Teutonic subject displays a truly Teutonic amount of patience and learning. M. Falignan is not content with citing the authorities for the early history of Faust, or even with generally describing the first published account of him. He prints these authorities *in extenso*, giving the Latin text where that was the original form; and he provides for his readers a complete translation of the first history of the magician. Similarly most, if not all, of Marlowe's play, and that both in English and French, is

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*Histoire de la Légende de Faust*, par Ernest Falignan, Docteur-en-Médecine et Docteur-es-lettres des Facultés de Paris. Hachette. 1888.



incorporated into the text. The result is a very formidable volume; and, if it had no other purpose, it would at least serve as an encyclopædia of all the data of the legend. For though M. Falignan's volume is so comprehensive in material, it is defective in the part devoted to a critical exposition of the story. Here the author seems to lack a certain breadth of treatment. There is a want of lucidity about some of his views which is disappointing after reading through the various information he has so laboriously brought together. In one respect he seems to entirely misconceive the most important characteristic of the sixteenth century hero.

M. Falignan states that the main cause which led Faust to give himself to the devil was nothing more than sensual pleasure, and a devotion to that gluttony which he asserts to be the prevailing passion of northern nations. This is an opinion which does not accord either with the express statements or with the general tenour of the early part of the Faust book. There are, no doubt, many aspects from which the Faust of the legend can be regarded: this fact itself contributes a great deal of its interest to the story. He can be looked upon as a sensualist, as a charlatan, as a sceptical scholar; but not as one only of these to the exclusion of the rest. It must always be remembered that, whatever else Faust may be, he represents a factor, a base and vulgar, but still an important factor, in the Reformation movement, and that too, rather in his early than in his later history. It is stated in the Faust book that his fault consisted in his insatiable curiosity in all things in heaven and earth, and that his fall was due to nothing else than his arrogance, his despair, his presumption and temerity. In the first formal discussion which Faust has with the evil spirit, he lays down his three conditions,—Mephistopheles must render himself obedient to all his demands, keep nothing secret from him which he may wish to know, and in replying to all his questions say nothing but what is true. Faust afterwards supplements these by further demands not inconsistent with the former. What has misled M. Falignan is doubtless the description given by the author of the Faust book of the way in which Mephistopheles



commenced his share of the compact by providing Faust with all sorts of luxuries, to delight his senses and destroy his higher aspirations. In the midst of this 'Epicurean life,' the evil spirit brings him a book of magic to distract him: whereupon Faust's curiosity is once more aroused, and he proceeds to question Mephistopheles at length on every detail of the infernal regions and the fall of the angels, until the latter is heartily sick of his interrogator, and begs him to desist. Faust then sets himself to study physical science—astronomy and astrology—and even constructs an almanack and makes predictions about the weather like a modern meteorologist. Since the discussion of divine matters is forbidden him, he strives to obtain the knowledge he wants in an indirect way: he adopts the expedient of raising questions on the origin and beauty of the sky, hoping thus to entrap the evil spirit into speaking of the Creator of the world. So far is he from being a mere sensualist that his intellectual passion is strong enough to make him try and outwit the devil himself.

And apart from the express language of the Faust book, it is obvious that, if Faust's determining motive for allying himself with Satan had been only the insatiable desire of material pleasure, Faust would neither have deserved nor obtained the important place which has been awarded to him in the sixteenth century. Neither M. Falignan himself nor any other of the numerous critics and commentators of the legend would have given him so much attention, had he been, as M. Falignan would have us believe, a mere mixture of vanity and sensualism, with a preponderating amount of the latter. Faust follows a downward path, no doubt, and sinks into lust and vagabondage, but that is the result and not the cause of his fall. That he is not driven to his infernal compact by mere sensualism will be still more apparent in the development of the legend.

Much has been written, especially in Germany, on the historical beginnings of the legend. The subject is one of the cruxes of literature, and can hardly be treated at any length in a general review. It is therefore out of the question to do more than refer in the briefest manner to the writers who mention

Faust as their contemporary, and to the various theories that have been formed on the information they give.

The earliest mention of Faust is to be found in a letter of John Tritheim, Abbot of Spanheim, written from Würzburg in August 1507. It was addressed to John Virdung of Hasfurt, an eminent mathematician, in answer to certain inquiries of the latter. Tritheim, who himself shared the reputation of a magician, common to learned men and scientists at the time, speaks of 'Magister Georgius Sabellicus, Faustus junior,' in the most contemptuous terms as an ignorant vagabond, who, the year before, took good care to keep out of his way during a visit to Gelnhausen. In 1509 the name of John Faust appears as that of a distinguished student at Heidelberg. In 1513 Conradt Mudt, a friend of Reuchlin, Melanchthon, and Luther, speaks of one Georgius Sabellicus, who bore the further title of 'Helmitheus Hedebergensis,' which apparently meant 'the demigod of Heidelberg.' More information was furnished in what is known as the Erfurt Chronicle, a document first published in the year 1725; but whether this was in reality an extract from an early reprint of the Faust book with augmentations, or anterior to it, is uncertain. A house is still shown at Erfurt in which Faust is supposed to have lived. In 1516 he is said to have stayed with the Abbot of Maulbronn, and a kitchen which he used for his magical experiments, and a certain tower where he was carried off by the devil, were for a long time objects of interest. The pictures in Auerbach's cellar at Leipzig are well known in connection with the legend. The records of Ingoldstadt in Bavaria contain the fact that an individual who called himself Dr. George Faust of Heidelberg was requested to leave that town and spend his money elsewhere. He is also referred to by Begardi in his *Guide to Health* as a well known magician who had taken in a great many people in various parts of Germany, including Begardi himself; by John Gast, as a potent necromant; by Conrad Gesner of Zürich, as a travelling scholar of great reputation; and by Mennel or Manlins, a pupil of Melanchthon, in the *Conversations* of the latter published in 1562, as a vagabond magician who came to a terrible end. Faust is declared by the last writer to

have studied at Cracow, a University which in the sixteenth century appears to have enjoyed a considerable reputation for free thought; and in 1563 another writer, John Wier, repeats this information. The chronicle of Count Froben Christoph von Zimmern assigns 1541 as the date of Faust's death. Other contemporaries, Andreas Horndorff, Lavater, Büttner and Lercheimer, who like Manlius, was a pupil of Melanchthon, also make mention of Faust and his marvellous doings.

If we are to believe the report of Widman, who, as will be seen later on, was one of the most important of Faust's biographers, Luther also referred to Faust in his *Table Talk*. It is obvious that the book which bears the title *Luther's Table Talk* need not necessarily, and probably did not, include everything of the great reformer which might be classed under that heading. By collecting references from such manuscripts as he had been able to inspect, and by supplementing the information thus obtained by what he could learn from oral tradition, Widman was no doubt able to present the views of Luther on Faust with tolerable accuracy; and in his account there is nothing that does not agree well both with other references to Faust and with the way in which Luther might be expected to talk of him. Many of the stories connected with Faust are evidently borrowed from extraneous sources; and it is of course possible to believe that Widman's whole account of these particular conversations of Faust is a forgery: but it is at least probable that no one would have committed himself to statements which could easily have been denied.

In the face of all these references to a notorious individual, agreeing to a remarkable extent in their estimate of that individual's character, there seems no good reason to doubt that there was a real personage of the name of Faust who made himself conspicuous in the early part of the sixteenth century. But, nevertheless, there are many points in these references which present considerable difficulty. For instance, if Dr. Faust called himself *Faustus junior*, to whom was he junior? Towards the close of the seventeenth century, not quite a hundred years after the first Faust book appeared, a certain theologian named Dürr advanced the theory that the

life of Faust was nothing more than a fiction drawn from the life of John Fust the printer, and circulated by the monks to throw discredit on the new invention. This hypothesis, having proved utterly untenable, has been succeeded by the suggestion that Fust the printer may have been at least *Faustus senior*. It is difficult, however, to assign any motive that could have induced the magician to connect himself in this way with one of the inventors of printing. Hermann Grimm imagines that Faustus senior is no other than the Manichean bishop who figures in the life of St. Augustine, a view which is part and parcel of his hypothesis that the Faust book was modelled on St. Augustine's Confessions. Another theory is that Faustus senior was a learned man who came from Italy to Paris about the beginning of the sixteenth century, adopted the name Publius Faustus Andrelinus, and was held in very great reputation. The derivation of the name *Sabellicus*, which Trithem reports as having been used by Faust, is of a similar character, and is perhaps traceable to a certain Italian poet Marcus Antonius Sabellicus, whose fame during Faust's youth must have been of the kind to fire his ambition. Both Andrelinus and Sabellicus were pupils of Pomponius Loetus, one of the chiefs of the Italian Renaissance; and the reputation of this school in Germany, spread to a great extent by the travelling scholars, might have offered an inducement to an adventurous young student to connect himself by name with its prominent members. This explanation of Faust's self-chosen titles, first put forward some thirty years ago, thoroughly accords with that mixture of learning and charlatanry which Faust's early career presents in the legend.

Then, again, the hero goes by different Christian names. Sometimes he is George, sometimes John. This circumstance raises the question whether there were two or more Fausts; and but for the fact that those who mention a Faust speak of him in similar terms as a notorious character, and record doings and sayings of his which hang well together, it would perhaps remain an open one. The explanation of this circumstance given by M. Falignan is naive,—the exigencies of his career would no doubt make it necessary for him to disguise

himself. It may easily be objected to this, that the disguise of a change of Christian name would hardly effect its purpose, so long as no change was made in his other and more distinctive name.

Such are in outline the facts relating to the earliest shape of the Faust legend, and such are some of the difficulties arising out of the facts as we have them. The various explanations given of these difficulties have one point in common: they tend to raise the original conception of Faust more and more out of a vulgar sphere, and to show his connection with the great intellectual movements of his time.

The legend now passes into its second stage with the publication of the anonymous biography of Faust in 1587. This is by far the most important event in the early history of the legend, and the work was noticed at length in connection with the meaning of the adventures therein attributed to Faust. It will not be necessary, therefore, to refer to it again. It is known that it had a great success; various reprints of it appeared in the years immediately following its publication. In the early part of 1588 a 'Faust in Rhyme' was issued by some students of the University of Tübingen, a circumstance which appears to have caused some scandal, and to have resulted in the imprisonment of the offenders; and as early as 1590 a new edition, as has been observed, was published with augmentations commonly referred to as extracts from the Erfurt Chronicle. Before the end of the century the adventures of Faust were known through translations in various parts of Germany, in Holland, Denmark, England and France.

The success of the first issue of the 'History of Faust' was not only attested by the numerous re-impressions and re-editions of the book and of its translations into other languages. The interest that it aroused was held to justify the publication, some six years later, of the 'Life and Adventures of Wagner,' Faust's famulus or servant. This was a kind of sequel to the story. It seems to have had more success than usually falls to the lot of a sequel; chiefly, perhaps, because instead of the different countries of Europe which Faust had made the field of his exploits, America, then a comparatively

recent discovery, figured as the scene of Wagner's adventures; and much information as to its climate productions and inhabitants was woven into the narrative in such a way as would alone have sufficed to draw attention to the book at that epoch.

The fame of the legend and its effect on the popular imagination were in no country greater in those years than in England. Marlowe's drama, not in the shape in which we have it now, but in its earlier and unaugmented form, cannot apparently have been composed more than three or four years after 1587—there are strong reasons for thinking that it was played for the first time not later than 1589. In February of that year the records of the Stationers' Company show the *imprimatur* of Aylmer, then Bishop of London, for a ballad on the 'Just Judgment of God show'd upon Dr. Faustus.' It seems, therefore, most probable that one of the early and undated English translations of the Faust book must have appeared within a few months after the original publication at Frankfurt. The troops of English players who went about in Germany and the Low Countries at that period, were very likely to have brought home with them, in some shape, the story which had attained so much popularity on the Continent. This may have been the original German edition, and Marlowe may have used an MS. translation. From the labours of those who have made a minute comparison of parallel passages in the play, the Faust book, and the English translation, it seems almost impossible to avoid the conclusion that the play, as we have it, is based both on the original work and on its English form. More than this it is hardly safe to assert; for, of all the questions involved in the early history of the legend, perhaps not one is so beset with difficulties as the train of circumstances attending the production of Marlowe's drama, and the extent to which it was brought to its present shape by later hands. And in approaching much more important questions, namely, how far the play modified the previous conception of the legend, and what it contributed to influence its development, the very fact that there is little but conjecture, and no means of arriving at certainty, as to the state in which Marlowe left



the play, makes it impossible to speak of its characteristics as being due to Marlowe alone.

Dr. Faustus on the English stage and the hero of the German book are not quite the same character. The main difference lies in the cause assigned to his downfall, and the motives from which he entered into his compact with the devil. In these important aspects of the legend the English drama afterwards exercised a considerable influence on the popular development of the story in Germany.

In the English play Faust's aspirations as a student give way before his desire to get the good things of the world by the aid of magic. This change in the conception of Faust's character is due to a very definite and curious cause. The way in which German thought made itself felt in England in the early part of the sixteenth century was, as a recent writer has pointed out,\* strangely different from its effects towards the close of the same century. From its place as the cradle of Protestantism and the home of learning, Germany had, in English estimation, sunk to being only the land of magicians and sorcerers. And in the English play Dr. Faustus is no longer the scholar ambitious of all knowledge: he despises in turn philosophy, medicine, jurisprudence, divinity, and finds his sole delight in magic, and that because of the worldly success it promises—

Divinity, adieu !

Those metaphysics of magicians

And necromantic books are heavenly ;

Lines, circles, scenes, letters and characters ;

Ay, these are those that Faustus most desires.

O, what a world of profit and delight,

Of power, of honour, of omnipotence,

Is promised to the studious artizan ! (*Act i., sc. i.*)

The struggle in Faustus' soul, represented by the words of his good and evil angels—

Sweet Faustus, think of heaven and heavenly things !

No, Faustus ; think of honour and of wealth.

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\* Prof. C. H. Herford. *Studies in the Literary Relations of Germany and England in the Sixteenth Century.* Cambridge, 1886.

is brought to an end when Mephistopheles appears with a troop of devils carrying crowns and rich apparel. It is evident from this that Marlowe's conception of his hero's character is baser and more vulgar than that of the German original; and that Marlowe in this respect was following not so much the Faust-book as the general reputation of German magicians.

The good and evil angels in Marlowe's play are also an innovation. They are not to be found in the Faust-book from which Marlowe drew his materials; but it is a noteworthy fact that the good angel had already appeared in an early German ballad on the subject. There is no need to suppose that Marlowe copied the idea from this source: for that good and evil angels attended upon man was a common supposition and not at all unknown in Marlowe's time on the English stage. It has been conjectured that there may have been an early German play of Dr. Faust containing the good and evil angels which appeared in the dramatic form of the legend afterwards popular in Germany; but the existence of such a play has never been demonstrated, and it is in itself most unlikely.

To whatever German originals Marlowe may have been indebted for a part or all of his materials, it is certain that the further development of the legend in Germany owed much to Marlowe. Those English comedians, who are thought to have introduced the story into England, doubtless brought the English form, which had attained so much success, back with them into Germany. In July 1626 a play was performed at Dresden by English actors which can have been none other than Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus*. The same drama seems to have been played at Gratz, in Moravia, even as early as 1608. The first known performance of the German—there may have been others previously—is recorded in 1668 at Danzig; and Marlowe's influence is not difficult to trace. What is peculiar about it is the introduction of a prologue in hell, in which Pluto summons up the devils one after another, and Faust expresses the wish to have as his servant the one who is as swift as the thought of man. At the end Faust counts the hours, as in Marlowe's play, and then, to heighten the effect, hell opens and we see him in torment.

From the stage piece was developed the Puppenspiel or Marionette-play—the commonest and most vulgar form of dramatic entertainment, where Faust always made an attractive play-bill even on into this century. This marionette-play seems to have introduced many varieties of the familiar story: in some, Faust sells himself to the devil for a fair lady, and his term of pleasure is measured, not by any fixed number of years, but a permission to commit so many crimes. The extent to which this licence with the facts goes in the accounts that have been preserved, compel one to suppose that there was no written form of the drama, but that it was improvised as occasion required. Another characteristic of the marionette-play is that it abounds in comic scenes, probably in the first instance a reminiscence of Marlowe, and then degenerating into general ribaldry to suit the taste of a low audience. Still it shows traces of some of those higher aspects of the legend neglected by Marlowe and in part derived from the original book. Faust is filled with repentance, but thinks that there can be no pardon for his sins. Then the thought occurs to him that, where repentance is, there must God be also. He surprises Mephistopheles by asking him if it is possible for him still to repent—a question to which the fiend's only answer is a fresh temptation. At the end Faust's fate is sealed by the awful words: *accusatus est, judicatus est, condemnatus est*. The drama was enacted to the almost continuous accompaniment of thunder and lightning, and the whole was frequently advertised to conclude with a grand display of fireworks.

In this vulgar shape Faust lived on among the people during the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century in Germany. During the greater part of this period the influence of French literature was at its height; and the effect of this in Germany was to divorce the intelligence of the upper classes from the feelings and aspirations of the people. The Thirty Years' War was disastrous to the conditions under which alone a national literature could flourish. There is hardly a single name in the meagre development of German literature from the middle of the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth century which, outside the region of

theology and philosophy, has attained anything like permanent fame. In this state of things Faust rapidly sank from his position as a typical character of the sixteenth century to a stock figure at the yearly fair.

Still in this same period the legend was not without a literary development which shared neither the baser tendencies nor the vulgar fate of the popular drama. From the first the religious aspect of Faust's compact was an interesting study for theologians and teachers, and in books circulating amongst the learned classes the magician was a recognised subject for a grave homily, as he was on the stage for a sensational farce.

The religious tone visible in the earliest edition of the Faust-book has already been dwelt upon. It was perhaps of a tentative and commonplace character, and important rather from the Protestant views it put forward than from exhibiting any very deep religious feeling. The author, in short, does not quite escape the charge of a general sympathy with his hero; and it may have been from some suspicion of this that he desisted from issuing the Latin version of the story which he had had in contemplation. But if the earliest edition left anything to be desired by those who felt a religious horror at the mention of Faust's enormities, another version appeared before the end of the sixteenth century, twelve years after the publication of the first book, which adopted a more decidedly didactic tone, and may have been of a more re-assuring character to those who looked askance at the earlier narrative.

This was the version published in 1599 by George Rudolph Widman, under the pretext, as he stated, that a great quantity of fresh information relative to the magician had come into his hands. In spite of this assertion, however, the new Faust book was based to a very large extent on the old one: what is new in it is chiefly the great increase in moral and religious reflections. These are inserted at every opportunity not only with the object of making the book innocuous to its readers, but with the express intention of inculcating a righteous abhorrence of all things magical. It may be said that their actual effect is to render it intolerably dull. One of the most prominent

features of Widman's edition is the continual attack carried on in its pages against the texts and ceremonies of Roman Catholicism. A dozen Popes and many less eminent dignitaries of the Church are ranged amongst those who practised the black art. In this respect Widman is only emphasizing the general opinion of the Reformers. Faust's early devotion to magic is ascribed, not to scientific curiosity or intellectual arrogance, but to the studies set before him at the Roman Catholic University of Ingoldstadt. This desire which Widman exhibits of damaging the rival creed—for he seems to have been a strong Lutheran—led him to take an entirely wrong view of the position which Faust occupied in regard to the Reformation, and to place the magician amongst the enemies of the movement instead of amongst the more vulgar of its supporters. But Widman was perhaps not in a position to see the real significance of Faust, and he gave way to the most prominent feeling of his day. For by the beginning of the seventeenth century the movement of Protestantism was well established in Germany, and quite in a position to hold its own in the imminent struggle of the Thirty Years' War. The time was therefore ripe for giving to the legend an aggressive character and employing it as an engine against the Roman Church; and this may be regarded as the main purpose of Widman's version.

And that this is the case there is evidence supplied by the ultimate fate of the book. It was reprinted only after a considerable lapse of time, that is to say, in 1674, and its later editor, Pfitzer, made amongst many alterations an almost clean sweep of the attacks on Roman Catholicism. These attacks had, in fact, served their purpose: they were out of date, and were withdrawn as being unsuited to the tastes of later readers. At the same time the work was rendered much more popular by a judicious amount of cutting down and some attempt at a better historical treatment. The revised version was attended with some success; and at no very long interval another and still shorter edition appeared from the pen of one who styled himself 'ein Christlich Meynender,' i.e., one with Christian intentions. It was this edition which most probably first fell into the hands of the young Goethe.

These two developments of the legend, the popular drama with its degrading associations, and the formal history with its overload of didactic comment, ran on side by side up to the middle of the eighteenth century, responding in their different spheres to the tastes of intellectually divided classes. The legend had slumbered for two hundred years in the popular consciousness. Faust was the hero of the stage, the vulgar favourite: but in addition and at the same time the *bête noir* of the learned, the stock example of the theologians. The time had come for these two diverse conceptions to unite in producing a figure representative in the highest sense of the struggles and errors of humanity. In that wave of free thought which swept over a great part of Europe towards the close of the last century, obliterating old divisions and founding a new order of things, Germany did not fail to find a conspicuous place. Of all her literary efforts in that flowering-time in her mental development, not the least important result was the intellectual fusion of different classes, when the highest literature became also, in a manner unknown since Luther's day, the literature most in vogue. It was an appropriate sign of this change that the popular hero was again transformed into a typical figure, significant of the best phase of German thought, a national possession.

Thus it comes about that it is no inexplicable circumstance that the history of Faust, born at the same time as Protestantism and to a certain extent the incarnation of its ideas, should have reached its highest point contemporaneously with the extreme logical outcome of Protestant ideas, that the magician of the sixteenth century should have undergone a spiritual change in the very age which witnessed the greatest revolt against the external authority of religion.

This, then, is the beginning of the third stage in the development of the legend. It will not be possible here to follow this third stage to its close. That would involve an examination of Goethe's masterpiece, with special reference to his conception of Faust's character and the part played by Mephistopheles, a task not lightly to be undertaken and at least worthy of separate treatment. But it will be suitable to observe the



direction which the new development took, and to mention the writer who can claim the honour of originating it.

Towards the middle of the eighteenth century some of the most thoughtful men in Germany began to express the opinion that the popular conception, in assigning so horrible an end to Faust, was out of harmony with the ideas of the time. Amongst these was Lessing. We are told by one of the greatest of German critics that Lessing is the Reformer of German literature, the founder of the German stage, the forerunner of Goethe and Schiller. In no respect is this reforming energy more apparent than in his treatment of the Faust legend. He had seen the marionette-play in Berlin in 1753 or 1754, and was profoundly impressed by the incongruity between the height of Faust's aspirations and the degradation of his end. He thought it absurd for Faust to have to fall a victim to Satan because of his too passionate desire for the highest knowledge. The old books pointed out that it was Faust's presumption that was his ruin: that spirit of inquiry was in Lessing's eyes no reason for consigning him to endless perdition. We have only a fragment of the attempt Lessing made to remodel the play on new lines, but it is certain that the main idea of it was that in the end Faust was to be rescued from the evil one.

It appears that Lessing's first plan of a Faust-drama was put aside in order to make room for one in which the devil has to do, not with the real Faust, but with a phantom sent down from heaven to take his place, while Faust, sunk in sleep, sees everything in the vision of a dream. But according to 'Maler' Müller, Lessing wrote two Fausts, one with, the other without, a devil; and the place of the latter was to be filled up with a villain in human shape. Engel, one of Lessing's intimate friends, has preserved his recollections of the chief outlines of another plan for a Faust drama. The prologue was to be laid in hell, and the devils were to be assembled under the presidency of Satan to deliberate how they could work the most mischief. The proposal that was to find acceptance was one to rob God of his favourite possession, a youth consumed with the passionate desire for wisdom. The only question was, how to lead him astray. His one desire

was for knowledge, and in this 'curiosity' Satan was to find enough to work his ruin. A voice from on high was to close the scene with the ringing words, '*Ye shall not prevail.*'

In the fragment published in Lessing's posthumous dramatic works, the scene of the prologue is an old Gothic cathedral. Here again the one failing in Faust's character which is to bring him to evil is his over great desire for knowledge: 'for from one failing,' says the devil, 'can spring all manner of vice.' And the devil whom Faust chooses as his servant is as swift, not as the thought of man, as in the old play, but as the transition from good to bad.

Here is an entirely new way of looking at the legend, in which Faust is no longer given over to the evil one for having devoted himself to his service in his lifetime, but stands before us as the eternal representative of aspiration towards the good, of struggle with evil, and of final deliverance from it. A man whose only fault is an over-love of truth could not be allowed to fall into the hands of the devil through that fault. The popular conception of Faust was held to be immoral and therefore untrue; and the new conception spread into every circle of thought in Germany, so that, as was said, a new Faust was everywhere announced. It was Lessing who gave the first glimpse of this new possibility, rather of this new necessity, for Faust to be saved; but it needed a greater than Lessing to show how that salvation was to be accomplished.

T. B. SAUNDERS.

### ART. III.—PRINCIPAL TULLOCH.

*A Memoir of the Life of John Tulloch, D.D., LL.D., &c., &c.*  
By Mrs. OLIPHANT. Edinburgh and London. 1888.

MRS. OLIPHANT has discharged a very delicate and difficult task with evident skill and affection. Materials for a Life of Principal Tulloch are abundant enough, but there is little, if anything, among them which is particularly striking, or out of

the ordinary. One gets a gentle surprise when he is appointed Principal of St. Mary's at St. Andrews, and again when he wins the second prize in the Burnett Competition. There is something touching in the description of his long and painful and mysterious illness. But beyond this there is little or nothing in the story of his life over which one is tempted to feel profoundly. Stirring or exciting events are conspicuous by their absence. His life was studious and active. There was in it much calm and indefatigable labour, much domestic happiness, much friendship, frequent disappointments, much of that hope deferred which makes the heart sick, and most of the struggles and vicissitudes which are more or less common in the lives of professional men. It was full in fact, full to overflowing, with the everyday work of the world, but with little to distinguish it from that of others who occupy a similar position, or are animated by kindred ideas and aims. Yet as told by Mrs. Oliphant the story of his life possesses a genuinely human interest, and is surrounded by a halo of affection and tenderness which is perhaps only in the power of a writer of Mrs. Oliphant's ability and sex to throw around it or to make one feel. The narrative is eminently simple and unadorned. Opportunities for descriptive writing seldom occur, yet here and there are passages of remarkable beauty, which betray at once the interest of the writer in her subject and her own power and artistic skill. Such, for instance, is the description of the 'little grey town,' where Tulloch spent the greater part of his life, or of Capri, where his own and his biographer's family spent some delightful weeks. The first of these is so exquisitely done that we cannot resist the temptation to cite it:

'St. Andrews has become too well known to demand much description. Its fame, which is partly of letters, but still more of golf, has extended far and wide, and there are now few places where the visitor is more likely to meet with other pilgrims from all quarters of the world. The little grey town, with its rocks and ruins; the stately relics of a historico-ecclesiastical period now entirely passed, and leaving no sign except in these monuments of a lodging far more magnificent than faith or learning has ever since had in Scotland—with the dark and dangerous reefs below, which make St. Andrews Bay a name of fear to seafaring men; and around the half-encompassing sea, sometimes grey as northern skies can make it, sometimes crisp and brilliant in its blue breadth, as full of colour as the Mediter-

raean; the long stretch of sandhills and cheerful links, the brown and red roofs all clustered about an old steeple or two, thinning out into farm-houses and cottages landward among their spare and wind-swept trees, running down into fisherhouses, and the bustle of a little storm-beaten port towards the east,—stands now, as then, upon its little promontory, with all these charms of situation and association which make a place of human habitation most dear. I think there is no such sweep and breadth of sky anywhere. The “spacious firmament on high” sweeps round and round, with the distant hills in soft outline against its tints of pearl, and the levels of the sea melting into it, yet keeping their imperceptible line of distinction, brimming over in that vast and glorious cup. The great globe aways visibly in the summer sunshine, so that the musing spectator seems to see its vast circumference, the level of its human diameter, the circle that holds it separate from all other spaces and worlds. Nowhere else has my mind received the same impression of the round world and all that it contains. And there could be no more magnificent sight anywhere than the sunsets that flame upon the western sky and the long levels of the links, or the rush of the aurora borealis in the intense blue of the midnight frost, or the infinite soft gradations of earth and sea and air in the lingering summer evenings, when the gleam of half-a-dozen lighthouses comes out intermittently, like faint earthly stars in the dim celestial circles where silence reigns in peace.”—Pp. 122-3.

No town, we will venture to say, was ever more charmingly described, or had its peculiar features set out by a more sympathetic or artistic hand. But passages of this kind are rare. The narrative runs on, telling its tale of hopes and struggles, disappointments and successes, without artificial adornments; yet all the while it retains its hold on the reader's attention and enlists his sympathy. The reason we imagine is partly in the style in which it is told, but chiefly in the fact that it is the story of an open and generous soul wrestling with difficulties, and striving to make the earth better and sweeter for its presence in it.

At the same time we are not sure that Mrs. Oliphant's account of the Principal, notwithstanding the charms with which she has invested it, will meet with an approval altogether unqualified. Nor are we sure that it will be deemed in all, or even in several important respects, altogether satisfactory. There is a thinness and lack of information about it in places which makes one feel that it is not complete. Mrs. Oliphant herself has had fears of this. More than once she refers to her ‘inadequate knowledge of public events in Scotland’ and inability to appreciate the

bearings or significance of the movements in which Tulloch took part. To many this will appear a serious drawback—a drawback, indeed, for which no amount of admiration or literary ability is able to make up. For thirty years Tulloch was a public servant, occupying a highly responsible position, and exercising, more especially during his later years, a very considerable influence in various directions, but it is questionable whether the part he played, or the influence he exercised is here sufficiently indicated or sufficiently appraised. No doubt Mrs. Oliphant has done her best, and made excellent use of such letters and information as were placed in her hands, but for the full appreciation of the position he occupied in the country, and of the extent to which during the past thirty years he helped to mould its life—and few men we will venture to say did more—something else was requisite—nothing less than personal acquaintance with, and perhaps actual participation in, the movements Tulloch originated or helped to guide, and a clear and sure insight into the many and various changes he was more or less instrumental in bringing about. For Tulloch's life, though not heroic, not at least in the usual acceptation of that term, was certainly effective, and most of it was passed beneath the public eye and in public work. More acquaintance with this side of the Principal's life would have given Mrs. Oliphant's Memoir of it less of the appearance of an exotic, while inquiry in other directions might have prevented her from falling into a number of blunders, by which her narrative is curiously marred. Her account, too, of the Principal's literary life, we must own, seems to us but little less unsatisfactory. No doubt Mrs. Oliphant is acquainted with his books, and has read them. Most, if not all of them are mentioned. So also are several of the Articles he contributed to various periodicals, and to publications of a different kind. His troubles as an editor are described, and we have an excellent engraving of the study at St. Mary's. But of the Principal's literary habits, we hear next to nothing. Nor do we hear much about his actual work beyond the fact that he was engaged on this or had finished that. Even his principal work—his work on the Rational Theology of the Seventeenth Century—is dismissed in a paragraph or so, and beyond the facts that

one or two pilgrimages were made to Cambridge in quest of information, and that the work failed to awaken anything like lively interest in the University there, nothing can be learned from the Memoir, either as to its history or effect. In short, if we were to sum up our impressions of the Memoir, we should say that while it deals abundantly with its subject's private and domestic life, it is deficient in the historical element, and fails to show with sufficient distinctness the part he played on the stage of the world, or the influence he had on the general stream of life around him. We do not mean, of course, that his public life is not dealt with. As a matter of fact it is dwelt upon at considerable length. After the modern fashion we have well-nigh a plethora of extracts from letters and speeches, but then the settings and the comments on these are so thin, and that 'inadequate knowledge of public events in Scotland' is so frequently present, that one often looks in vain for any distinct proofs of the effects which the Principal's public appearances and writings were having upon the Church or the country, or upon those whom he sought to move. That Mrs. Oliphant's picture of the Principal is, so far as it goes, truthful, no one, we imagine, will be disposed to deny, but he seems to us to have been in several respects a much greater man, and a much more powerful force in the country than she has been able to make him out—not indeed from any lack of admiration or affection, but simply for the reason she has herself suggested. The first Life of John Stirling required a second to complete it, and we should not be surprised if a feeling were to spring up that something of the sort is needed to complete the Life of the late Principal of St. Mary's. But be that as it may, in the following pages, we do not, as it is perhaps not necessary to say, propose to make an attempt to anticipate any such feeling; all we shall endeavour to do will be to give our readers some account of Principal Tulloch's life and work, using Mrs. Oliphant's Memoir when we can, and at other times giving our own impressions.

John Tulloch was born at Dron in Perthshire, June 1, 1823. His father, the Rev. Mr. Tulloch, was minister of Tibbermuir and of Norse descent. His mother was the daughter of a Perthshire farmer, named Maclaren. Previous to his marriage Mr.



Tulloch had acted for some time as tutor to the sons of Mr. Grant of Kilgraston, two of whom, Sir Francis and Sir Hope Grant, afterwards became famous. Mr. Tulloch is described as an ardent Liberal and a popular preacher—qualities which he seems to have transmitted to his son John. From his mother John Tulloch appears to have derived the ‘less happy inheritance of a sensitive and highly nervous organisation,’ and possibly the germs of that constitutional failing which subsequently so often laid him aside and ultimately carried him off. His first school was the Grammar School at Perth, where, we are told, ‘he was once well flogged by Mr. Logan, the head-master.’ When twelve years of age he was sent to the Madras College at St. Andrews, and in his fifteenth year entered the United College there as a student. Among his fellow students the general impression about him was that he was ‘easy-going,’ and might have done better than he did. ‘As a rule,’ says the present Moderator of the Church of Scotland, who was one of his class-mates, ‘he was boyish in his careless glee, easily moved to laughter, and often rebuked for a quite unacademic outburst.’ ‘These explosions,’ the Moderator goes on to say, ‘continued amid the graver studies of the Theological Hall. I remember on one occasion an absurd answer was given to Principal Haldane (Dr. Tulloch’s predecessor, as it turned out) by one of the students of Divinity. Tulloch’s outburst was so exuberant that the Principal actually started from his chair, and then sat down perfectly paralysed for a few moments. He then turned to Tulloch with a stern expression and said, “You’re a gawky fellow, Mr. Tulloch; you’re a gawky fellow, sir!” and so resumed his examination.’ But as in after years beneath his laughter and explosive mirth Tulloch had a serious strain, and records of a graver kind are not wanting of his student days. Though probably not much drawn to his class-subjects as they then chanced to be taught, he began to busy himself with the larger and, to the young and enthusiastic, much more fascinating questions of literature and philosophy. He wrote essays and read papers, and, though apparently ‘easy-going,’ showed not a little of that profound earnestness and activity of mind which in later years placed him at the head of the Church of Scotland and made him a great moral and intel-

lectual force in the country. After spending about five years in the University of 'the little grey town,' where he formed a number of friendships, which he had the felicity of retaining all through life, he left it without taking his degree and before his studies were completed. As to the degree Mrs. Oliphant has a curious story to tell, not about Tulloch it is true, but about Dr. Gray of Liberton, which throws a strange light on the way things were then managed in St. Andrews. Tulloch's motive for quitting the University before his studies were completed was the desire to put himself under better teaching than it was then possible to obtain in St. Andrews. Whether he obtained it at Edinburgh, whither he went, is not clear. Dr. Lee, who was then the Principal, struck him as a 'solemnity,' but of his ability as a theological teacher he has left no record. His University curriculum was finished in the beginning of 1844, and in the March of that year he passed his 'trials' for license before the Presbytery of Perth; but having been born, as he suggests, two months too late, the Presbytery refused to license him, until he had attained his twenty-first year. The delay was somewhat tantalizing to his impatient spirit, but the day came and he was licensed to preach.

His first appointment, or rather the first he accepted, for he seems to have had overtures from other quarters, was to the post of assistant to Dr. M'Lauchlan, minister of the First Charge in Dundee. One of his reasons for accepting this post was, as his friends appear to have alleged, the likelihood of his becoming after a few years the successor of Dr. M'Lauchlan, who was then an old man. As there was a minister of the Second Charge, the likelihood was the barest possible, and never came to anything except a law suit, in which Tulloch was the loser. Soon after beginning work in Dundee he was pressed to take the living of Arbroath, the Provost of the town and members of the congregation being extremely desirous to obtain him as their minister, and he was actually presented; but after much anxious thought and with a modesty which is now-a-days, perhaps, somewhat rare, he declined the presentation on the ground of his youth and inexperience. How much anxiety this decision cost him may be gathered from his letters. Writing at the time to

a friend, he said—'After nearly a month of *agony*, for I cannot use a milder term, I have thrown up Arbroath at the eleventh hour;' and, again in a letter to Miss Hindmarsh his future wife, 'The Provost of Arbroath is grievously annoyed and offended, and so I have reason to understand will be the whole congregation; but I cannot help it. I could not, and dared not, have undertaken the responsibility of such a charge in my present conscious state of unpreparedness for it.' The question of whether he should go or should not go to Arbroath had had the effect, in fact, of stirring up all the deeper foundations of his being, and he had begun to have serious doubts as to his fitness for the ministry altogether. In a letter to Mr. Smith, afterwards so well known in connection with the Endowment Movement in the Church of Scotland as Dr. Smith of North Leith, he wrote—'Had I had the same views' [*i. e.*, in respect to the ministry] 'I do not know that I should have taken licence at all;' and again to Dr. Dickson, now the Professor of Theology in Glasgow, but better known, perhaps, as the translator of Mommsen, he said, 'I solemnly confess to you that had I, previous to taking licence, viewed the office with the same feelings as I have done since, I could not, if I know my own mind, have taken it.' His final decision in the matter, however, brought him peace, and he emerged from this, perhaps the first great spiritual crisis in his life, an altered man. Events, however, were not long in forcing upon him the responsibilities from which he had shrunk. During the same year (1845) his father died, and being involved in fresh cares in consequence, when towards the close of the year the living of St. Paul's, Dundee, was offered to him, he took it and was ordained minister of the charge, March 6, 1846, though not without many fears as to his fitness for the post. Four months later he married Miss Hindmarsh, the loving and helpful companion of all his remaining years. He had become acquainted with her while a student in St. Andrews, but the marriage took place in Jersey, where her family was then residing. 'No more imprudent step' (than this marriage) writes Mrs. Oliphant, 'was ever taken, nor one more absolutely and triumphantly justified.'

Tulloch returned with his young wife to Dundee towards the

beginning of winter, and they were still busy gathering their household gods together when a cruel discovery was made. But here we must let Mrs. Oliphant speak :—

‘The stipends of the Dundee churches,’ she says, ‘were derived from old endowments, partly royal gifts, partly the spoils of the monasteries, which were devoted to the maintenance of the Church and relief of the poor, and were under the management and control of the town council—a thing very usual in Scotland. But at this troubled period of the Church’s career, such a control was liable to great abuse. Most of the town councillors of Dundee had joined the Free Church movement in 1843, and it seems to have represented itself to them as a fair and honourable manner of reprisals for the sacrifices made by ministers on their own side of the question, to carry confusion and dismay into the deserted manse which had been filled up by new men. It must have been after Mr. Tulloch’s appointment that the town council came to this extraordinary resolution. They could not interfere with the incomes of the clergymen, who had held their livings from a period anterior to the Disruption ; but in respect to those newly appointed, they set on foot a new distribution, cutting down the stipends from £275 to one hundred guineas, on the plea that all beyond that sum had been granted only during the pleasure of the town council. A more arbitrary or cruel act could not have been. Its utter unscrupulousness and high-handed despotism could not be exceeded by any petty tyrant ; but there is perhaps nothing so like a petty tyrant as the local council, formed of men of unelevated understanding and narrow views, with all the heat of local prejudice and the terrible stimulus of irresponsible power, however small. If anything could be more cruel than a town council it would be a vestry—a group of men being, by some wonderful reason of human nature, more obdurate, less accessible either to reason or feeling, than any single man.’ (pp. 45, 6).

Two hundred and seventy five pounds is by no means an extravagant income for a minister in a large town, and the discovery that even this slender pittance was to be reduced to one hundred and five burst upon the young couple like a thunderbolt. That they would have hard work to make both ends meet need not be said ; but Tulloch and his young wife bore up bravely and uncomplainingly. ‘Although we are not without our difficulties,’ he wrote at the time, ‘and pretty hard ones too as the world goes, we are very happy.’ He worked on quietly and cheerfully, ‘but,’ as Mrs. Oliphant remarks, ‘by no means, as has sometimes been said, with frantic laboriousness to keep the wolf from the door.’ ‘No trace of anything of the kind,’ she

continues, 'is in what he himself reports of his life, or in any definite recollection preserved by his contemporaries.' Now and then he could even afford a trip to Edinburgh or to Lauder, and on one occasion to Germany. Relief came to his pecuniary difficulties in 1849, when he was presented to the living of Kettins in Perthshire. Here he remained until 1854, when he removed to St. Andrews.

His appointment to the Principalship of St. Mary's was as curious a turn in the wheel of fortune as it was unexpected. All along from his college days Tulloch's desire had been to obtain a professorship, and already in 1851 he had had thoughts of applying for the post of professor of Ecclesiastical History in Glasgow, which was then vacant. A few months later, again, he had been in Aberdeen on the invitation of Professor Martin, the then editor of the *North British Review*, 'looking about me, and learning what may be learned,' he says with evident reference to an expected vacancy in the professoriate. But in the November of 1853 Dr. Haldane, the Principal of St. Mary's, lay dying, and there was a flutter of excitement in the university of 'the little grey town' as to who should succeed him. Dr. Brown, the second Professor of Theology, had been selected by Sir David Brewster, then the Principal of the United College, as the fittest person to succeed the dying Principal; and the two of them had agreed that, among the many younger men who were looking to a professorship in the University as the height of their ambition, the best choice that could be made for the chair Brown would leave vacant, in the event of his candidature proving successful, was Tulloch of Kettins. With these thoughts in their heads, Sir David Brewster and Dr. Brown paid a visit to the Manse of Kettins, and stated their case. Tulloch agreed to the arrangement, and began his candidature. Dr. Haldane died in March 1854, and the moment came when every effort required to be put forth by the joint candidates. Tulloch responded to Dr. Brown's appeal for activity with the utmost energy, thinking only, so far as he himself was concerned, of the second Chair. Among others he called on Lord Kinnaid, whom he had already written to on the subject, and acquainted with the arrangement come to between Dr. Brown and himself, when to his astonishment he

learnt that his lordship, instead of understanding him to be a candidate for the Chair Dr. Brown was to vacate, had supposed him to be applying for the actual vacancy, and had accordingly recommended him to Lord Palmerston, not for the Second Chair of Theology, but for the Principalship. On discovering his mistake, Lord Kinnaird at once wrote to Lord Palmerston, asking him to delay procedure in the matter until he had seen him. But when Tulloch's name was mentioned in high places, it was so strongly supported by Bunsen and others, that Dr. Brown's was dropped, and Tulloch was appointed Principal. To Dr. Brown the disappointment was of course great, but he took it in good part, and not without magnanimity. Congratulations poured in upon the youthful Principal from all sides, and Lord Kinnaird wrote, 'I consider it very fortunate that the mistake occurred,' adding, 'I am glad to hear that your nomination gives general satisfaction, which the arrangement proposed by Sir David Brewster would not have done.' Soon after this great piece of unexpected good fortune, another befell him. In January 1855 the judges for the Burnett prizes awarded him the second prize, worth £600, for his essay on *Christian Theism*. During the same year he removed to St. Andrews, and began his new life by the delivery of an inaugural address at the opening of the University session on 'The Theological Tendencies of the Age.' Here, in St. Andrews, the seat of the oldest University in the country, Principal Tulloch lived during the remainder of his life. Honours did not flow in upon him very rapidly. On a Scottish minister or Professor there are few to flow; but Tulloch obtained, and obtained deservedly, a fair share of them. He held the Croall Lectureship, was a Royal Chaplain and Dean of the Order of the Thistle; he was Junior, and then Principal Clerk of the Assembly of the Church of Scotland; and a few years before his death the Church of Scotland conferred upon him the highest honour which it has to confer upon any of its ministers, by appointing him in 1878 the Moderator of its General Assembly.

By his profession Principal Tulloch was first of all a preacher. What is generally termed a great or popular preacher he can



scarcely be said to have been ; but among one class, the more than ordinarily educated, his pulpit ministrations were extremely acceptable. His name was always sufficient to draw together large crowds as well in country towns as in the large centres of population, more especially in Edinburgh and Glasgow, in both of which places he was extremely popular. His sermons, which were always carefully prepared and betrayed the thinker, perhaps, more than the orator, were clear and vigorous statements of Christian truth, showing on the part of the preacher a large and varied acquaintance with the Christian life and considerable insight into human nature. His position in the Church lent weight to his words, and they were rendered all the more impressive by his naturally fine presence, good voice, and singularly earnest manner. The conclusions of his sermons, it would appear, he was not in the habit of writing. These he declared while at Kettins 'it is no use writing ;' but as a rule they were the most effective part of his sermons. It was while delivering them that the whole of his energies of mind and heart seemed to be most concentrated and that his words became most forcible and impressive. Referring to the declaration we have just cited Mrs. Oliphant says—and those who have heard the Principal preach will be able to confirm every word of her statement—

'This last touch is very characteristic, and will remind many who have heard him in later years, of Principal Tulloch's habit of closing his book and addressing himself direct, often with an emotion which was very contagious, to the audience which had been following him through his argument or exposition with rapt and grave attention. The theologian, the teacher was put aside ; he thrust from him with the impatience of an orator, all that had been prepared, and with his large eyes wide open, and his countenance flushed with feeling, threw himself upon the sympathies and responsive feeling of his hearers. No one could doubt that what he thus spoke had gone to his own heart, and came direct from it, warm and glowing with all the eloquence of nature. In these moments he was the true ambassador, the messenger of good tidings, and at no time was he more characteristically himself. I do not pretend to say that these personal addresses were always equal to the preceding discourse—sometimes they were the finest part of it, but not always ; yet it was impossible to listen to them without being impressed by the strong personal influence of the man. It was of "no use writing" conclusions ; by the time he had got to that point all the boundaries of composition were burst by the warmth of natural feeling.'—(p. 74).

At Balmoral his religious ministrations appear to have been always welcomed, and among the Queen's Scottish chaplains, after Norman Macleod, he seems to have enjoyed the greatest measure of the Royal esteem. Among his letters are several describing his visits to the Queen's Highland residence, in all of which are indications of Her Majesty's high appreciation both of his character and of his ministry. The following, written to his wife, is the earliest, and in some respects the most striking, of these letters.

'I had an interview with the Queen this afternoon (Sunday, August 10th, 1862) and write to note down its character before it escapes my memory. I arrived here from Braemar last night, and at ten o'clock went to Balmoral Castle to give divine service. I found servants waiting at the door under the tower, one of whom conducted me to a room, where I put on my gown and bands. After a while I was ushered along the corridor, through a group of waiting servants, along each end of which were arranged seats—in the lower end for the servants, the upper for the Queen and Court. In the window there was a table covered, at which I took my place with a small Bible, and my sermon in my hand. I remained standing for about three minutes; the ladies and Sir George Grey, the Minister of State in attendance, then entered, and after a short time the Queen came in with two little boys and (I think) a little girl, all in deep mourning. She had a widow's cap with very long pendants broadly hemmed. (I have heard all this, although I never ventured to look at her except as she entered and took her seat.)

'I commenced the service with a prayer, then reading Scripture, thirty-ninth Psalm, and fourteenth chapter of St. John's Gospel, then short prayer, concluding with "Our Father," then sermon from the text, Romans viii. 28, "And we know that all things work together for good," then another prayer to conclude with—about fifty minutes in all; and as I never sat down, and was under a good deal of suppressed excitement, although marvellously calm externally, I felt a little tired. Her Majesty left the room immediately, and I left for the manse, to prepare for the service in the church. At two o'clock I went back to luncheon, sat beside Sir George Grey, and afterwards had a long talk with him. As I rose with the rest to come away, Sir George said to me, "The Queen desires to see you, and will send for you by-and-bye." I did not feel very comfortable, you may imagine. As we went up the stair Sir George said to me, "No formal introduction is necessary; you just enter and make your bow." A servant received us at the door—very dark, quiet, and retired it seemed—tapped, to which a clear voice replied, "Come in." Sir George went first, made a step or two, and then a very low formal bow: I followed and did the same. The Queen received us almost at the door, and stood all the

time. She said inquiringly first, that I had been to Balmoral to preach before? She then asked if I had a church. She then asked about the number of students at St. Andrews. I said about 150 or 170. There were many more in Edinburgh and Glasgow, Her Majesty said, talking to Sir George Grey. She then said something further that led me to say that St. Andrews was the oldest University in Scotland, and that we were proud of it in consequence. Sir George said I had been telling him that the Duke of Argyll was thinking of sending his sons to St. Andrews. She said half to him and half to me that the Duke's sons were very promising. I replied that the eldest was thought very clever. She then spoke of Dr. Macleod, and said he was a delightful and charming man. Had he not also a clever brother? I said he had. Sir George Grey said, "Your Majesty has just presented Dr. Macleod's brother to a living." She replied, "I have not had the pleasure of hearing him, but I hope I may have that pleasure." She then spoke of Mr. Stewart having preached last Sabbath, and said, "He was eloquent" in an enquiring sort of way. She then said with a very charming smile, "It was very kind of you to come to-day," and we left bowing and backing out of the room as best we could. She detained Sir George Grey, who on rejoining me said the Queen desired a copy of my sermon and the concluding prayer. I said I could scarcely give the copy I had, but would have one made and sent."—(pp. 158-9)

This was the first of many visits which the Principal paid to Balmoral and Windsor. How highly his ministrations were appreciated by Her Majesty may be gathered from the following sentence taken from a letter she addressed to the Rev. W. W. Tulloch, on hearing of his father's death—"I have again lost a dear and honoured friend; and my heart sinks within me when I think I shall not again on earth look on that noble presence, that kindly face, and listen to those words of wisdom and Christian large heartedness which used to do me so much good." In another letter, addressed to Mrs. Tulloch on the same occasion, the Queen again speaks of 'his wise words which breathe such a lofty Christian spirit' (pp. 478-9). Wisdom and Christian large-heartedness were perhaps the most distinctive characteristics of his sermons. They were not rhetorical. They were plain, sensible, and instructive, eloquent because of their intense earnestness, and impressively spoken.

When Principal Tulloch's ministry began, the Disruption of 1843 had taken place. He had grown up and had been educated amid the discussions that led up to it. His father, the minister of Tibbermuir, seems to have been at one time a supposed

supporter of the Non-Intrusionist party, and an amusing, if stilted, account is given by Dr. Beith in his *Memorials of the Disruption* of how he and another member of this party hunted him out, and with some difficulty found him engaged, not in a theological or ecclesiastical polemic, but in a controversy much more humanizing. The minister, in short, was out upon the ice along with his people, engaged in a great curling match. But though he presided at the meeting which the two clergymen had come to arrange for, he did not commit himself to their party, and when the Disruption came, he remained by the Church. How his son felt on the matter at this period, there does not seem to be any precise record. He was one of the ringleaders in raising the rebellion against the custom of filling the office of Lord Rector of the University by certain professors in rotation, and took a part at least, if he was not the chief actor, in proposing Dr. Chalmers for the office. This proposal may possibly have 'meant a sentiment of admiration for the party which afterwards formed the Free Church,' but it is much more likely that it meant simply a desire to honour one who at the time was the most popular man in Scotland. But be that as it may, there is nothing to show that Tulloch ever had the slightest leanings towards the party which Dr. Chalmers led. From first to last he was a staunch Churchman. It was as a Churchman, in fact, that most of his best work was done. He belonged to a band of men who have done more than any others to repair the disaster of 1843, and to regain for the Church its hold upon the nation. Among them were Drs. Norman Macleod, Lee of Greyfriars, Smith of North Leith, Watson of Dundee, Principal Caird, and, though often opposed to those already named, Dr. Phin. All these were chief actors in, and some of them stood at the head of, movements which in different ways have helped to restore the waste places caused by the great Secession, and to bring the Church into its present prosperous condition. Drs. Macleod, Lee, and Tulloch, are specially singled out by Mrs. Oliphant as having done more, each in his own department, than any other of their contemporaries, to alter the character of the Church of Scotland and to lengthen its cords.

'All of them,' she observes, 'were roused by one impulse—seized by a

longing after a communion more extended than that which was confined within the limits of a scientific form of doctrine and a certain number of centuries. They bethought themselves simultaneously that the Apostles' Creed was older and wider and simpler than the Westminster Confession ; that the laws of God had been revealed before ever the Reformers were thought of, and that prayer and praise had not been invented in the sixteenth century. These men were not without their prejudices. They were all ready enough to vituperate Popish superstition, and call heaven and earth to witness how dark and benighted were other lands, and how inferior to their own ; they had their own kind of bigotry like most men. They were even somewhat illiberal in respect, for instance, to Episcopalians in Scotland, whose assumptions of superior authority exercised, and not unnaturally, an irritating influence upon them. But with all this their minds had taken a new turn, unprecedented in Scottish ways—a longing for something “ more Catholic, more magnanimous,” as Irving had said in a previous generation, came upon them. They remembered that, in their acknowledged descent from the original fathers of the faith, no leap had been made, no such wonderful bound as from St. Paul to John Knox, which had been somehow the idea encouraged in Scotland ; but that all the old saints, both great and small, were in their spiritual genealogy too, and that all the old ways of the Christian world, tender traditions of everything that was lovely and of good report, belonged to them also—the hymns of Ambrose as well as “ The Lord's my Shepherd.” This, there is no doubt, was very new in the Scotch Church. The dogmatists of the “ Free ” were more faithful in their rigid traditionalism to that handful of great men to whom they limited their primogeniture. It had never been known in Scotland, except perhaps in such a benignant individuality as that of Archbishop Leighton, that the Church should serve herself heir to all Christianity, and recognise a pedigree reaching further back than Geneva. And yet there could be no doubt that every Christian practice and custom as well as instinct and hope were hers, as they were the inheritance of all Christians.'

Owing to the lines they adopted, Drs. Lee and Macleod were brought into collision with the ecclesiastical authorities, and having to defend themselves before their respective Presbyteries and on the floor of the General Assembly, they have the appearance of having played a more important as well as a more conspicuous part in the Renaissance of the Church of Scotland. But that they did is extremely doubtful. Still waters run deep ; and when the history of that movement comes to be written, it will in all probability be found that the influence of Principal Tulloch though perhaps less appreciable, was quite as powerful and enduring as that of either.

Anything like an adequate account of his activity as a Churchman it is here impossible to give; still one or two points may be noticed. The chief bent of his mind was historical, and though the period to which he confined his inquiries was somewhat limited, it was doubtless this historical feeling that inspired his ideas as a Churchman and gave them, for the unhistorical ecclesiastical mind of Scotland, something of an air of freshness. His principal guides seem to have been Hooker, Coleridge, Arnold, and Rothe. As compared with those of his English teachers, his conceptions of the Christian Church and of a National Christian Church were less broad and comprehensive. Those inculcated by Coleridge seemed to him, from their very breadth and comprehensiveness, we imagine, 'diffusive' and 'impalpable' and 'hardly calculated to touch the general mind.' His own seem to have more affinity with Rothe's, though it is not difficult to trace in them the influence of Hooker and Arnold. Essentially, in fact, they were the same. Speaking of a National Church, he said, in his lecture in St. Giles' on 'National Religion in Theory and Fact,' it implies 'nothing less than the organisation of the religious side of the nation; its spiritual aspirations and activities legally embodied and witnessing, in virtue of this embodiment, to the great thought that religion is not merely a private but a public concern—that it behoves the nation, no less than the individual and the family, to acknowledge God and Christ as the great King and Governor of men in all their relations. It is the recognition and constitutional expression of this principle alone that invests religion with national sanction. It is this which discriminates a church from a sect.' And again in the same lecture we have the words:

'The Church and the State are seen interwoven from the first: the civil order of the community constantly borrowing from its spiritual order, and the latter strengthening and organising itself in legal forms. The State is, as it were, the outside structure of the national life, the Church the inside structure of it, and as they fit into one another, and naturally adapt themselves to the common end of intensifying such life, each reaches its true ideal and helps to build up the fabric of national prosperity. . . . The activities of the Church are in themselves distinct from the special activities of the State. They relate to different spheres. They bring into play different faculties. They promote different, if related ends. But both the



one and the other are required to make a true national life. To cut off the civil from the spiritual order, and to make the former merely contributory to physical ends is to debase it. To cut off the spiritual from the civil is not merely to divorce what God has joined, but to convert the spiritual into the ritual, and in separating it from the common circle of humanity—under the plea of its sacredness—really to degrade it, and to prepare the way for turning religion into a superstition, and the Church into a priesthood.’\*

Whether this is the true idea of a National Church it is not our province here to discuss. To many it may seem to imply too much; to others, too little. All we say is, that it was Principal Tulloch’s, and that it accounts in a large measure for the position he took up in relation to various movements in connection with the Church of Scotland. To its inspiration may be traced the interest he took in the welfare of the Church in the Highlands, the coldness with which he regarded the Patronage Bill, his unceasing efforts on behalf of education, both primary and university, and the energy with which he threw himself forward in defence of the Church against the movement for its disestablishment and disendowment. Another Scotsman, perhaps more learned, but less active and effective, and belonging to a different Communion, has said, ‘I am first a Christian, and then a Presbyterian.’ Of Principal Tulloch it may be said, he was first a Christian, and then a Scottish Churchman; for next to the spread of the Christian Faith, that which he had most at heart was the prosperity of the Church of Scotland. His last words in the Assembly were in its defence, and one of the last things he wrote was an article which appeared in the pages of this *Review*, entitled ‘The Church of Scotland and the Coming Election.’†

As a Theologian, Principal Tulloch has generally been regarded as belonging to what is popularly termed the ‘Broad Church.’ That term is convenient, but not particularly lucid. It is often extremely misleading. Especially is this the case when it is applied to doctrine. Many doctrines are said to be ‘Broad Church,’ which many so-called Broad Churchmen would be the first to disown. In one sense Principal Tulloch

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\* *St. Giles’ Lectures, Sixth Series*, pp. 30, 66-7.

† No. 12, October 1885.

was a 'Broad Churchman,' in the sense that he refused to be bound by that unlovely form of traditionalism which he spent the greater part of his life in opposing. But in the sense that he held or taught opinions that are in any way opposed, or in contradiction to any of the great principles or doctrines of the Christian Faith, it will be extremely difficult, if not impossible, for any one capable of judging to make out. Perhaps the best word with which to designate him as a theologian is his own word 'Rational.' But here again a word of explanation is needed. As generally employed the term has a by no means orthodox flavour; but as used by himself it is less objectionable, and may commend itself to many who have hitherto looked upon it with dislike. What he meant by it he has pretty clearly set out in the Preface to the first Edition of his *Rational Theology*. After remarking that it is the inevitable characteristic of a moderate or liberal section in a Church or State to hold together with comparative laxity, he goes on to say, 'The very fact of their liberality implies a regard to more than one side of any question—a certain impartiality which refuses to lend itself to mere blind partizanship, or to that species of irrational devotion which forms the rude strength of great parties. This characteristic makes the action of such a moderating force all the more valuable; and it may safely be said that no ecclesiastical or civil organisation would long survive its elimination. The "Rational" element in all Churches is truly the ideal element—that which raises the Church above its own little world, and connects it with the movements of thought, the course of philosophy, or the course of science—with all, in fact, that is most powerful in ordinary human civilisation. Far from deserving to be expelled and denounced as merely evil, Rationalism has high and true Christian uses; and the Church which has lost all savour of Rational thought—of the spirit which inquires rather than asserts—is already effete and ready to perish.' Such was the sense in which Principal Tulloch used the word. Perhaps it is not very happily chosen, still, used in this sense, it describes with considerable accuracy his own position and character as a theologian. As we have already remarked, the bent of his mind was strongly historical; he was in the habit of looking

all round a subject; at all events he was always desirous of doing so, and preferred to make up his own mind on independent grounds rather than to submit unconditionally or without thought to authority. The inestimable value of tradition he frankly admitted. He did more. He acknowledged it to be indispensable. 'The element of traditional authority,' he said in his inaugural address at St. Andrews, 'whether it be embodied in the general symbol of the Catholic Church or in some more especial symbol, is to be regarded as in itself wholly invaluable for the interests of Christian science. They who would arbitrarily separate themselves from any of the noble expressions of the Church's past life seems to us utterly and hopelessly wrong.' But, on the other hand, he claimed for himself and he claimed for others the right to freedom of inquiry, believing that the principles of the Christian Faith and the principles of human thought are not contradictory but in perfect harmony with each other. At the time of his appointment to St. Mary's the reaction which followed the theological activity, which was led in Scotland by Mr. Erskine of Linlathen, Mr. Campbell of Row, and Mr. Wright of Borthwick, was in full force. It is easy to understand, therefore, that to what is commonly termed the Evangelical party, he was an object of suspicion. Yet singularly enough no charge of heresy was ever definitely formulated against him. This may probably be taken as a conclusive proof that his teaching was at no time unsound, and that the suspicions it aroused were due rather to the larger and more historical spirit in which he treated the questions of theology he from time to time discussed than to any actual departure from what was regarded as the orthodox faith.\* But be that as it may, there can be little

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\* How little sympathy he had with what are generally known as Broad Church doctrines, and how little he was at variance with what is popularly known as Evangelicalism may be gathered from the following passage in his latest work. He is discussing the attacks which were made against the late Rev. F. D. Maurice. 'If I am asked,' he says, 'to pronounce an opinion I must often agree with his orthodox critics against Mr. Maurice. Sin is certainly more than selfishness, and the atonement more than the perfect surrender of self-will to God. It is a satisfaction of Divine justice as well as a surrender to Divine love. God is not merely Love but Law,

doubt that to him, perhaps more than to any other, is due the fact that theology in Scotland has been delivered from many superstitions by which it was beset during the first decades of the century, and is now being studied in a more intelligent spirit, and with a reverence for a past which is older than Calvin and Knox.

That he was an ideal or a profoundly scientific theologian can scarcely be maintained. Even admitting that his views were on all points in accordance with the great principles of the Christian faith or not at variance with them, he was wanting in that breadth and subtilty of thought and that precise use of terms which are among the chief characteristics of the first masters in theology. In matters of terminology he was often singularly loose. Few Theologians would ever think of denouncing dogma as a cause of division: most would regard it as the sole basis of union and as in some shape or other the only possible basis. Yet in his *Movements of Religious Thought*, (p. 335), Principal Tulloch specially warns his readers against supposing that such can ever be the case. 'Let us not deceive ourselves,' he says. 'Unity can never come from dogma, as our forefathers unhappily imagined. Dogma splits rather than unites.' As if men had ever been united by anything else than some true or false dogma, either formally expressed or tacitly agreed upon! But the next sentences let us see where we are. 'It,' i.e. dogma, Principal Tulloch continues, 'is the creature of intellect, and the intellect can never rest, it remains unsatisfied with its own work, and is always turning up afresh the soil of opinions.' Was there ever a more apt illustration of what Moehler charges the Protestant Churches with, when he says that they have inherited an irresistible propensity everywhere to identify dogma and opinion? The two are here absolutely identified, and there is apparently not the slightest appreciation of any difference between them. But

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and Divine righteousness is strong not merely to make men righteous but to punish all unrighteousness. If it be a question between the Maurician theology and the Pauline theology, there can be no doubt that there are elements in the latter, the full significance of which Mr. Maurice failed to see.'—*Movements of Religious Thought*, p. 282.

dogma is not opinion. Dogmas were before opinions and will remain when the opinions formed about them are forgotten, just as a landscape which has produced an impression on the mind of a beholder, existed before the impression it produced and will remain when the impression is faded away. Opinions change from age to age and are subject to development and decay, but the dogmas about which they are formed are always the same. Principal Tulloch, in fact, was more of an historian than a Theologian, and it was in history that his best work as a theological writer was done. At the same time it must be admitted that he was a strong and vigorous thinker, thoroughly honest with himself, and perfectly fair to his opponents. He possessed, too, what among Scottish Theologians has been somewhat rare, not only the historical and critical faculty, but the faculty also of expressing his thoughts clearly and with no small amount of literary power.

Outside of Scotland Principal Tulloch was best known by his writings. Like most writers he was better known by name than in person; and in one of his letters from America he records a somewhat amusing incident which occurred to him in Cincinnati, where he was obliged to stay some hours, owing to a breakdown on the railway. 'I sallied forth into the large unknown town,' he writes, 'and after various inquiries the "Methodist Book Concern" was pointed out to me. I inquired for my books, which I got at once. I said, "Now I am quite willing to pay for these copies, but I think you ought to give me them for nothing, as I am the writer of them." The man looked amazed, and referred me to the head of the establishment, who also looked amazed. When he understood who I really was, he was very gracious, and of course had a copy of each put up for me. I gathered that they both sold largely, one of them being the volume of whose limited sale Macmillan, you may remember, complained. The joke is, they were all dear—dearer, in fact, as everything here is, than at home. Their selling price is one dollar twenty-five cents, or five shillings, according to the present currency. *Beginning Life* was never more than three shillings and sixpence at home, and the other volume can be got abundantly for eighteenpence. They are a strange lot, to steal a

man's brains in that way and never offer him a cent, nor even till asked for, a copy of the book. One of the bishops writes a long flattering introduction; one might say, "Less of your manners and more of your siller, my pious Methodist." As early as his college days Tulloch, as we have seen, dabbled in literature. He wrote essays on such subjects as the Origin and Invention of the Alphabet, the Immortality of the Soul, Wordsworth's 'Excursion,' Spenser's 'Faerie Queen,' and seems to have been then, as subsequently, an omnivorous reader. On his settlement in Dundee he wrote to the newspapers and began to show a predilection for letters which made his friend Smith quite alarmed. A visit which he paid to Germany soon after his marriage seems to have acted as an incitement, having immediately on his return home begun a translation of Neander's lectures on Pascal, and entertained thoughts of attempting a translation of a whole series of his works. This latter came to nothing, but the translation of the lectures on Pascal appeared in *Kitto's Journal of Sacred Literature*, and two years later he contributed an original article on 'Pascal and Christian Philosophy' to the *British Quarterly*, 'the chief organ of the English Dissenters, and then, as I believe still,' Mrs. Oliphant says with a strange lack of information, 'a high-toned and excellent periodical.' He was next employed on the *North British Review*. His connection with this journal may be said to have laid the foundation of his success. After contributing several articles both to it and to the *British Quarterly*, he was asked by its editor to write a review of Bunsen's *Hippolytus* which, though now almost forgotten, was then causing considerable stir. The review was written and was so well thought of by Bunsen himself that when Tulloch's name was proposed for the Principalship of St. Mary's, the learned German lent his weight and influence and was in a large measure instrumental in his appointment. From this time onward Tulloch was a frequent contributor to the higher class of periodical literature, and in 1884 issued a volume, consisting mainly of articles he had contributed to the *Edinburgh Review*, with the title 'Modern Theories in Philosophy and Religion.' His books are so well known that it is needless to recite their titles. Most, in fact all, of them are connected with Religion and the Development of



Religious Thought. The work by which he will probably be known best and longest is his *Rational Theology in the Seventeenth Century*. It is not a brilliant, nor a popular book, but it is a decidedly good and useful book. It deals with an important but neglected phase of English Theological thought, and with men who may almost be regarded as the Principal's intellectual and spiritual fathers. A dull book it is not. Admirably written, and animated throughout by a vigorous and impartial spirit, it has always seemed to the present writer one of the best books of its kind. The fact that a second edition was soon called for is ample evidence of the favour with which it was received. He himself appears to have been somewhat disappointed that it was not more successful than it was. But his expectations seem to have been pitched too high. Few books of its kind, so far as we know, have had so large a success, and it is doubtful whether a greater can fairly be expected. The circle of readers it addresses is not large. For the general reading public with its present tastes any work of the kind can have but few attractions, and so long as such is the case an author who attempts a work in which historical investigations of a somewhat abstruse kind, calm thought and dispassionate judgment are the prevailing features, must be contented with comparatively few readers.\*

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\* Perhaps it may not be out of place here to correct a defect in the memoir with respect to a small matter connected with the *Rational Theology*. At page 321, Mrs. Oliphant cites a letter of the Principal's in which the following passage occurs—'I have seen a great deal of Matthew Arnold lately. He referred me to the last volume of his essays where he had spoken still more highly of my book than in his sketch on Falkland; and is going to publish with Macmillan a selection from Whichcote, J. Smith, Cudworth, etc., under the title of *The Broad Church in the Seventeenth Century*. He invited me to do this in his essay, and it seems rather cool his undertaking the task himself, without waiting to see whether I would do it. The selections will no doubt be taken chiefly from my volumes, which are too large he says for the general reader. Quite true, and I am not sorry he should do the thing.' Mrs. Oliphant then goes on to say—'One cannot help thinking that the Principal must have made some mistake about Mr. Matthew Arnold's intention. He was not likely to have published selections already indicated in a contemporary publication; and as a matter of fact, no such volume, so far as I am aware, was ever pub-

Some one has said, No man dies prematurely. Perhaps there is a large amount of truth in the saying. One would like to believe there is. Otherwise the death of men like Principal Tulloch in the fulness of their powers, and when to all appearance, judged by their years, they are capable of doing still greater service in the cause of religion and human progress, can scarcely be other than a national calamity. But looking back at the life of Principal Tulloch and considering his aims and what he accomplished, the thought occurs that premature as his death in some respects seems, in reality it was not. He had attained the highest honours his Church or country could confer upon him; he had lived to see the Church he had entered in its period of desolation, restored to popular fame and to something more than its former strength and activity; he had the consciousness also of knowing that he himself had had a large hand in its restoration, and the pleasure, which is given to but few, of seeing the aims and ideas for which he had constantly laboured, meeting with an ever increasing popularity. In the last of his lectures on *The Movements of Religious Thought*, he complained 'We in Scotland have been slow to recognise this inevitable law of development in religious thought, supposing ourselves a centre to which others moved rather than a part of the common movement. There was good in the old Puritan idea of religious immobility. It has kept us strong and righteous-minded in many things, but it has not been without its evil consequences. It has made us the hardest religious controversialists in the Christian world—severe upon one another—repellent when we ought to have been sympathetic, and

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lished.' Such a work was published, but neither by the Principal nor by Mr. Matthew Arnold, but by a different hand, working in entire ignorance of what they were contemplating, under the title, *The Natural Truth of Christianity*. The work consists mainly of selections from the Select Discourses of John Smith, M.A., and in its second edition has an appendix containing extracts from Whichcote, More and Cudworth. The present writer has good grounds for believing that Mr. Matthew Arnold did at one time contemplate the publication of such a work as is indicated in the above citation, though it is not at all necessary to suppose that he intended relying wholly or even to any great extent on the extracts given in *Rational Theology*.

uncharitable when we ought to have held each other by the hand.' Some of these evils he was himself largely instrumental in removing or ameliorating, and to him in a large measure is due that freer and more Catholic spirit which is at last beginning to make itself felt in the theological thought of the country.

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#### ART. IV.—THE WHITE LADY.

*(From the late Ivan Turgenieff.)*

[The spirit which forms the central figure in this extraordinary play of imagination belongs to a class which appears more frequently in the popular beliefs of Russia than in those of our own country. It is not, however, unknown even here. Sir Walter Scott's ballad of *Glenfinlas*, for example, is based upon a legend of a young man killed by a being of this sort—a catastrophe which Turgenieff has obviated or postponed by the peculiar expedient which he has here adopted.]

I HAD been occupying myself with spirit-rapping, and was beginning rather to regret it, as I found that I was becoming nervous and resting badly, when one night, after I had been long trying in vain to get to sleep, and arranging myself in my bed first on one side and then on the other, I was just conscious of beginning to doze when I thought I heard close to me a musical note—a mournful and tender note—as though a single string of an instrument had been struck.

I lifted my head a little. It seemed that the moon had just risen. Her rays shone full upon my face. The patch of the clean-scrubbed wooden floor of my room upon which they rested showed white like chalk. Presently the sound came again, and, this time, more distinctly.

I raised myself upon my elbow. My heart began to beat a little quick. But a minute went by, and I heard nothing more. Then another minute passed likewise. Finally, I heard a cock crow a long way off, and the voice of another cock, still farther away, answer him. Thereupon I settled my head down upon my pillow again, and said to myself 'What on earth is the matter?

Surely I am perfectly well. And this ringing in the ears will not come back again.'

And so at last I went to sleep. At any rate I thought I went to sleep. I had strange dreams. It was as if after an while I was astonished to find myself lying in bed in my own room, and not able to shut my eyes. Then I seemed to hear the musical note again. I turned round and looked into the room. Presently I thought I saw the moonbeams that lay upon the wooden floor begin to get troubled and to thicken and gather together. They took a sort of shape and rose. And in front of me was a white figure, like the figure of a woman, looking at me, and yet I could see through it all as if it had been a wreath of mist. I made an effort, and said :—

'Who is there?'

And then I heard a weak and indistinct voice, like the sound of wind passing through the leaves of a tree.

'It is me. I came to see you.'

'Why do you come to see me? Who are you?'

'Come to the old oak at the corner of the wood, in the night time. I shall be there.'

I tried to make out the features of the countenance, but suddenly an unexpected shiver ran through me. I felt as if I was chilled to the bone. I found then that I was not lying in my bed, but sitting up in it, and in the place where I had been imagining that I saw a spectre, there was nothing but the pure moonlight resting in an oblong patch upon the wooden floor.

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The next day passed very slowly. I wanted to settle down to read, to do some work. Somehow I could fix my attention on nothing. At last, night came. My heart began to throb as if something was going to happen. I went to bed in the end, and laid myself down carefully with my face to the wall.

'Why did not you come?'

These words seemed to be uttered by a small, weak voice, but with a perfectly distinct utterance, inside my room and close to where I was lying.

I looked round. Yes, it was she. There was the same

mysterious figure, the motionless eyes, the unvarying face, the unchanging look of sadness.

‘Come’—it said again, in its low voice.

‘Yes—I will come’—I answered, but with an inner feeling of terror. As soon as it heard me, the spectre seemed to strive to come nearer to my bed. But in this it appeared to fail. Its form became confused and misty, and turned into a mere shred of vapour; and, after a moment, there was nothing more to be seen but the clear patch of moonlight resting upon the white wooden floor.

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The day after this, I was in a state of nervous agitation from morning till night. At supper, I drank nearly the whole of a bottle of wine. I went out upon the door-step for a little while, but I soon came in and went to bed. I felt my pulse. It was quick.

In a little, I again heard the musical note. At the sound, a kind of shudder ran through me. I had not the courage to look round. A moment passed, and then I felt some one behind me lay their hands upon my shoulders, and heard a voice say in a low tone, close to my ear—

‘Come! come! come!’

I was seized with a sudden trembling. I said, with a sort of gasp—

‘Here I am.’

And with these words I suddenly forced myself to sit up in bed. The white figure was actually hanging over my pillow. It gave me a passionate smile, and then instantly disappeared. There was nothing.

In the moment, however, during which I had looked at the figure, it struck me that the face was not strange to me. But where and when had I seen it before?

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The next morning I was very late in getting up. I passed the day in wandering about the country close by. I went, among other places, to the old oak tree at the corner of the wood, and made a close examination of all the ground about it. Towards

evening, I sat down at the window of my study. My old house-keeper brought me tea. But I did not touch it. I could not make up my mind what I would do. I got into such a state that the question occurred to me whether I was quite sane. The sun at last was on the point of disappearing. There was not a cloud in the sky. All of a sudden, the setting beams bathed the whole landscape in a bright red tint, which seemed almost preternatural. The leaves of the trees, the plants, the grass, were absolutely motionless. They might have been turned into stone. The glorious brilliance of colour, and the motionless forms, the sharp outline of every object, and the solemn stillness, formed a strange and mysterious contrast. At that moment, a great brown bird perched upon my window-sill without any warning. I stared at it; and it looked at me somewhat askance, with its deep round eye. 'No doubt,' I thought, 'you have been sent here to remind me not to forget to-night.' As soon as this thought had passed through my mind, the bird spread its glossy wings, and flew away as silently as it had come. I stayed at my window for a long time afterwards. But I was now no longer in any doubt as to what I was going to do. I felt that the spell was upon me. There was no use fighting against it. Some occult force was moving me. It is just the same with a boat when it has got into the rapids: it cannot help being borne smoothly on to the cataract where it will perish. I roused myself at last. There was no red glow over the landscape now. Even the natural bright colours of nature were all effaced. In a few moments, it would all be wrapped in darkness. The unearthly stillness was also gone. A light wind was getting up. The moon rose radiant in the dark blue heaven. Her cold light fell upon the foliage of the trees. At some points the leaves looked as if they were made of silver, and in other places they were quite black. My housekeeper brought a lighted candle and left it upon my table. A breath of wind presently came through the window and blew it out. Upon this I got up hurriedly, put my hat on over my eyes, and set off at a quick pace towards the corner of the wood where stood the old oak.

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This oak is one which was struck by lightning many years



ago. It is what is called 'stag-headed.' The top boughs are all blasted and dead, but the rest of it has life in it for centuries to come.

As I drew near, a small cloud passed over the face of the moon, and the space underneath the branches of the tree became intensely dark. At first I noticed nothing strange, but as I continued to look round, my heart seemed suddenly to stop. I perceived an white form, close to a bush which grows between the oak and the edge of the wood. My hair stood on end upon my head. I could hardly draw breath. Nevertheless, I went on towards the wood.

It was the same figure which had been coming to me at night. I had nearly reached it, when the cloud passed away from the face of the moon. The phantom then appeared as if it were formed out of a sort of milky haze, but I could see through it. On the other side of the face, in particular, I noticed the branches of a bramble-bush, which were swaying in the wind, and which I could see distinctly through the features of the apparition. The eyes and hair were, however, of a deeper shade than the rest of the phantom. The hands were crossed, and I perceived that upon one of the fingers there was the appearance of a small, bright gold ring. When I was about six feet from the figure I stood still, and wished to speak; but I could make no sound issue from my throat; and yet the feeling which I now experienced was not altogether of fear. The figure turned its eyes upon me. The expression in the face was neither joyful nor sorrowful; it was that of a sort of grave interest. I waited to be addressed. But the apparition remained quite silent and motionless, with the same fixed dead look, never turned away from me.

At last, after a struggle, I managed to say—

'Here I am.'

The syllables sounded aloud dull and hoarse. Then I heard the same strange faint voice say—

'I am in love with you.'

'You are in love with me?' said I in amazement.

'Give yourself to me,' she said, in her low tone.

'Give myself to you?' I answered—for my mind was now getting perfectly confused. 'You are nothing but a cloud. You

have not got a body. Who are you? Are you a kind of mist, a sort of fog, a figure made out of the air? How can I give myself to you? Tell me who you are, first. Did you ever live upon earth? Where is it that you come from?’

‘Give yourself to me. I will not do you any harm. Just say only two words—*Take me.*’

I stared at her in amazement. ‘What is she saying?’ I wondered. ‘What does it mean? Shall I try it, and see?’ All at once I felt as if some one had given me a shove behind and made me cry out with a force which startled me—

‘All right! Take me!’

Hardly had I uttered these words when the figure seemed convulsed with an inward laughter which shook every line in her face. She moved forward towards me. Her hands parted and were stretched out upon me. I tried to recoil backwards. But I found I was now in her power. She folded me in her arms. I felt my body lifted about twelve inches above the ground, and in this position we glided forward together at a fairly quick pace, over the grass, which remained motionless below us.

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At first I got giddy, and involuntarily shut my eyes. When I opened them again presently, we were still moving, but I could not see my own woods any more. Down below us I saw a vast plain mottled with dark spots. I was stupefied to perceive that we were at an immense height.

All at once the idea that I was now in the power of a devil came upon me like a flash of lightning. Until this moment the supposition of an infernal agency, and that I might have caused my own ruin, had never occurred to me. We continued to move. And my impression was that we were rising higher and higher. I said at last—

‘Where are you taking me to?’

‘Wherever you like,’ answered my companion, hugging me closer in her arms. Her face was pressed against mine, and yet I hardly felt a touch.

‘Take me back to the earth. I am not happy up here.’

‘Very well. Shut your eyes and hold your breath.’

I obeyed, and had hardly done so, when I felt as if I was dropping through space like a stone. The air whistled through my hair. As soon as I could recover my consciousness I found we were sailing along close to the ground, touching every now and then the top of some plant higher than the rest.

'Let me down,' I said. 'What an idea, to think of flying! I am not a bird.'

'I thought you would like it,' she said. '*We* do nothing else.'

'But who are *you*?' I asked.

There was no reply.

'You do not dare to tell me?' said I.

We continued to glide along near the ground, in the damp atmosphere filled with its exhalations. There was no reply to my last question. The melancholy note which had awakened me the first night made itself heard again. I said—

'Let me down on to the ground.'

She bowed her head in token of compliance, and in a moment I found myself standing upon my feet. The apparition remained as if standing in front of me. Its hands fell and remained joined before it, as though it were waiting. I was now getting over the first impressions of terror, and I examined her closely. Her expression seemed to me, as it had seemed the first time, to be one of sorrowful resignation.

I did not recognize the place where we were, and I asked her what it was. She answered—

'Far away from your house; but we can be back there in a minute.'

'How do you mean? Am I to give myself over to you again?'

'I have not done you any harm, and I will not do you any. We will go about till the day breaks. That is all. I can take you wherever you like, in any country in the world. Just give yourself to me. Say again, *Take me*.'

'All right' I answered, '*Take me*.'

Her arms closed round me again. The ground seemed to sink away at once from under my feet, and we began to move along once more.

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'Where do you want to go?' she asked.

‘Straight on.’

‘But there is a forest here.’

‘Let us go above it, only do not let us go so quick.’

We immediately rose with a kind of circling flight like that with which a woodcock makes for the upper branches of a birch-tree, but, this height gained, we sailed on in a direct line. What passed beneath our feet was now no longer grass, but the summits of great trees. The forest thus seen from above, with all its crowded tree-tops spread out below us in the light of the moon, presented a wonderful spectacle. It seemed like some great living thing stretched out asleep and breathing the breath of life in dull, indistinct sounds. Sometimes we passed over an open glade, and I saw the jagged shadows of the trees thrown upon the sward. Now and then we heard the plaintive cry of an hare from the undercover. Sometimes an owl flew past us uttering its own weird note. The air through which we passed was laden with the smell of woodland plants and of fungi and buds swelling with the dew. The brightness of the moon shone all around us, cold and stern, and the Great Bear twinkled solemnly above our heads.

Soon we left the forest behind. Beneath us was a vast plain marked by a line of greyish mist, which showed the course of a river. We followed one of the banks, above the line of bushes which fringed it and which were now all bending beneath the heavy moisture of the night. Some parts of the surface of the stream shone with a sort of steely blue, in others the great mass of waters welled up from beneath, dark and sinister. Here and there slight wreaths of mist hung trembling over the current. At a few spots I saw water-lilies displaying all their open loveliness in the silence and solitude of the night, like virgins when they know that nobody sees them. I wanted to gather one of them; my hand reached the surface, but the cold water spirted disagreeably into my face, as I was trying to pull up the coarse stalk.

We began to fly across the river again and again, from one side to the other, as the curlews do. And we made the real curlews rise every moment. More than once we passed above a charming nest of young wild-ducks, all cuddling together in a

group in the middle of the rushes. These young wild-ducks did not try to fly away. One of them would bring his head out hurriedly from under his little wing, and look at us steadily for a moment, and then bury it once more under his plumage of soft down, while his brethren uttered a feeble murmur of 'quack, quack, quack.' Once we startled an heron in the midst of a patch of broom, and as he rose up and shook his wings heavily, I thought of a German.\* As for fish, we saw none: they were all asleep at the bottom.

I was now getting used to the sensation of moving in the air; and it was becoming pleasant to me. Anyone who has ever dreamt that he was a bird will know what I mean. I was also now free from my first fears, and I began to observe closely the extraordinary being by whose action I had been brought into so strange a position.

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She had the appearance of a young woman. Her features were entirely destitute of any trait of the Russian type of countenance. Her form was of a sort of greyish white. It was half transparent. Different shades were barely perceptible in it. I can only compare the whole effect to the appearance of a figure cut in relief upon an alabaster vase, when a lamp has been put inside the vase in order to make the figure stand out like an illuminated cameo. Again it struck me that I had seen her face before.

'May I speak to you?' I said.

'Speak.'

'I see that you have got a ring upon your hand. Did you ever live on the earth? Were you ever married?'

Here I stopped. She returned no answer.

'What is your name?' said I, 'or what shall I call you?'

'Call me Ellis.'

'Ellis!' I said. 'It is an English name. Are you English? Did you ever know me before?'

'No.'

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\* "Heron" is a popular Russian nickname for Germans.

‘Why did you choose me to appear to?’

‘I am in love with you.’

‘Are you happy?’

‘Yes—flying in the air with you.’

‘Ellis!’ cried I, suddenly. ‘Are not you one of the reprobate? Are you not a soul in pain?’

‘I do not understand,’ she answered, in a low voice, bending her head a little.

‘I adjure you in the Name of God—’ I began; but she interrupted me—

‘What are you saying?’ she asked. ‘I do not know what you are talking about.’

Her whole tone and air were completely those of a person who really did not understand in the least what I was saying. At the same time I thought that I felt a slight movement in the arm which held me with a cold grip.

‘Do not be afraid,’ she continued. ‘Do not be frightened, dear.’

And then her face bent down over mine. And I felt an odd feeling on my lips. It was something like a light prick with a blunted needle—or like the dallying of a leech which is not yet quite ready to bite.

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We were moving at a considerable height above the earth. I looked down. We were above some town which I had never seen before. It was built upon the slope of a large hill, and I saw the expanse of wooden roofs, mingled with gardens lying dark in shadow, and the gilded cupolas and metal crosses of a church here and there shining with a dusky gleam above the mass of surrounding houses. At one of the bends of the river a great bridge stood out black across the stream. Among the willow-trees by the bank the tall weighted rods for drawing water by balance rose silent and motionless in the air. Silent and lifeless also was a long white line, straight as an arrow, which entered the town on one side and left it on the other, stretching either way as far as the eye could reach over the interminable plain. This long white line was an highway.



I asked Ellis what town it was. She named one. I asked if it were the one so called, in the province of —. She replied in the affirmative.

‘We are a long way from my home,’ I said.

‘Not for us.’

‘Really?’ said I. Then a movement of audacity suddenly took possession of me, and I said—

‘Take me to South America.’

‘I cannot,’ answered the apparition. ‘It is day-time there.’

‘Then we are birds of darkness, are we?’ I answered, and then continued. ‘Never mind. Take me wherever you like. Only take me a long way.’

‘Shut your eyes and hold your breath,’ said Ellis.

We then seemed to fly with the speed of the whirlwind. The air whistled in my ears. It did not seem very long before we stopped. But the sound did not stop. On the contrary, it was far louder than before. The din I heard was terrific.

‘Open your eyes now,’ said Ellis.

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I did as she told me. ‘Good Heavens! where am I?’ Immediately above our heads scudded across the sky a tempest of low stormy clouds, thick and black, like a pack of infernal hounds careering through the air. Beneath us was another monster—the sea, as though mad with rage. The waters, lashed into convulsions, seemed to throw up mountains of bubbling and seething foam. The waves, torn out of all shape, dashed wildly against rocks as black as pitch, with a sound like thunder. The roaring of the storm, the cold rushing sound of the waters as they were forced up from the depths, the deafening reverberation of the billows as they smote the cliffs, a mingled din in which the ear seemed sometimes to distinguish cries of helpless pain, sometimes the booming of distant artillery, sometimes the pealing of bells—then the grating of the pebbles upon the shingle—now and again the scream of some unseen sea-bird—at intervals some gleam of comparative light making dimly visible the uncertain outline of a vessel. But death everywhere, everywhere death and destruction. A feeling of horror took hold of me and I shut my eyes again.

‘What is this?’ I asked. ‘Where are we?’

‘We are on the South coast of the Isle of Wight, at Blackgang Chine, where ships are often wrecked,’ answered Ellis, and as she spoke I believe that I saw a gleam of evil pleasure in her face.

‘Take me far away from here,’ I cried. ‘Far, far away! Take me home!’

I gathered myself up and covered my eyes. We seemed to fly faster than before. The air did not now whistle through my clothes and my hair, it howled and roared. I could not draw breath.

‘Stand up,’ said Ellis.

I made an effort to collect my senses. I felt the ground under my feet. All sound was now gone. Around me seemed the stillness of the grave. But the blood was throbbing violently in my temples, and my head was turning, with a faint ringing sound within. Little by little the giddiness passed away. I drew myself up, and opened my eyes.

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We were on the bank of my own pond at home. Immediately in front of us I could see through the sharp pointed leaves of a row of willows the broad stretch of the water, with some light shreds of mist resting upon the surface as though they had been fastened to it. On the right hand spread the dull green expanse of a field of rye. On the left I saw my orchard, where the trees stood motionless and dripping, only half distinguishable in the mist. But the breath of the morning was beginning to touch them. In the pale sky were two or three streaks of yellow cloud already touched by the first rays of the dawn. And yet the source of the light was still unseen. The uniform lightness of the heavens indicated not as yet where the sun was to rise. The stars had all disappeared. Not a thing was moving, and yet all things were awakening amid the wondrous stillness of the break of day.

‘The day is coming,’ said the voice of Ellis in my ear. ‘Good-bye till to-morrow.’

I turned towards her. She had already risen from the earth

and was ascending into the air in front of me. All of a sudden I saw her cast her arms above her head. In a moment her face, her hands and her shoulders appeared clothed in the hue of flesh: flashes of life kindled in her dark eyes: a smile of mysterious sensuality played round her reddening lips—what I saw was a young seductive woman. But this change only lasted an instant. She seemed as if seized with a sudden fainting fit, fell backwards, and dissolved immediately like a breath of vapour. There was no longer anything there.

I remained for a little while perfectly confounded and motionless. When I returned to myself, it was as if the hue of flesh, the pale rose-coloured tint, which had for a moment given a semblance of material life to the apparition, had not disappeared with it. The air around me seemed full of it still. It was in truth only the dawn which was beginning to glow. All at once there fell on me a sense of utter physical prostration. I turned and made my way towards the house. As I passed the poultry-yard I heard the goslings beginning to cackle. They are the birds which wake earliest. Along the lines of the roof, on the wooden poles which bind the thatch, were some rooks on the watch, standing out clear against the pale sky as they busily plumed themselves for the day. Now and then they all rose silently together in the air, and then settled down again in a row. Twice I heard in the wood the gruff healthy voice of a black-cock, already on the search for berries among the wet verdure. As for myself, I felt a slight chill coming over me, and went straight to my bed, where I fell almost immediately into an heavy sleep.

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The following night, when I went to the wood, Ellis came to meet me as if I were an old acquaintance. As for me, I had now lost all fear, and was almost glad to see the apparition. I had ceased to puzzle myself by trying to devise any explanation of the phenomena, and the only feeling now in my mind was a wish to be carried away again and to satisfy my curiosity. It was not long before the arms of Ellis were around me and we were high in the air.

‘Let us go to Italy,’ I said in her ear.

‘Wherever you like, dear,’ she answered, slowly and gravely. And then—slowly and gravely, too—she bent her head over me. I thought this time that I noticed that her features were less transparent than they had been the night before. She had become more like a woman, and less like a shadow. She recalled to me more the beautiful being whom I had seen that morning for an instant before it vanished.

‘To-night,’ she continued, ‘is the great night. It comes very seldom. When seven times thirteen——’ Here her words became entirely unintelligible to me, till she concluded——‘then one can see what is hidden at other times.’

‘Ellis,’ I said in an entreating tone, ‘who are you? You may as well tell me.’

She did not answer, but stretched out her thin white hand. Her finger pointed to a spot in the dark heavens where I saw a reddish-hued comet among a mass of the minor stars.

‘What do you mean?’ I asked. ‘Do you live like a comet wandering in an irregular orbit among the sun and stars? Do you live like that among men? What? Is it something else?’

She laid her hand upon my eyes. I found myself suddenly wrapped in an heavy white fog, such as sometimes rises from the bottom of valleys.

‘Italy, Italy,’ she said in a low voice. ‘To-night is the great night.’

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The fog cleared away, and I found that I was looking down upon an apparently illimitable plain. But the soft, warm air which I now felt upon my cheeks, let me know that I was no longer in Russia. Besides that, it was not a plain like our plains. It was simply an immense flat, tame, destitute of vegetation, utterly desert. Pools of stagnant water gleamed here and there upon its expanse, like scattered pieces of a broken looking-glass. At one side the land seemed to end, and I could dimly perceive the presence of a motionless and noiseless sea. Clouds in noble and picturesque masses only partially veiled an heaven lit up by glorious stars. From every direction rose a multitudinous sound, the utterance of myriads of throats, incessant, clear, but

not strident. This sound, at once distinct and dull, was the voice of the desert. It broke its silence by proclaiming its solitude.

'These are the Pontine Marshes,' said Ellis. 'Do you hear the frogs? Do you smell the sulphur?'

'The Pontine Marshes?' I exclaimed, with a feeling of disappointment. 'Why do you bring me to this ghastly uninhabited swamp? It would have been much better to have gone to Rome.'

'Rome is quite near,' she answered. 'Get yourself ready.'

And so we took our course above the old Appian Way. A buffalo which was lying all but submerged in a slimy bog slowly lifted his hideous head, covered with tufts of coarse hair between his back-turned horns. I saw the whites of his dull and vicious eyes as he snorted loudly through his wet nostrils. He had no doubt perceived our presence.

'Rome! Here is Rome!' said Ellis. 'Look before you.'

What was the black mass which cut the line of the horizon? Was it the ruin of some bridge built by giants? Why was it broken here and there in great gaps? No, it was not a bridge: it was one of the ancient aqueducts. Here we were indeed on the holy *Campagna di Roma*. At no great distance I recognized the Alban Hills. The moon was rising, and her rays imperfectly lighted up their summits and the grey ruins of the aqueduct.

We moved suddenly forward, and then I found that our flight was stopped. We were hanging still in the air in front of a solitary pile of ruin. It was too shapeless now for anyone to be able to say what it had been—a tomb? a villa? a public bath? A mass of black ivy wrapped it in its grim embraces, and at the bottom some underground construction, the roof of which had half fallen in, gaped like a dead man's mouth. I was struck by a smell like the smell of a grave, which seemed to exhale from every one of the deftly cut stones of which the building was composed. It had once been veneered with marble, but that had long disappeared.

'Here!' said Ellis. 'Here! Call out three times the name of some great Roman.'

'What will happen?' I enquired.

'You will see,' she answered.

I thought for an instant, and then cried aloud—  
'*Divus Caius Julius Cæsar!*' and then again, prolonging the syllables—'*Divus Caius Julius Cæsar! Cæsar!*'

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The last echoes of my voice had not died away when I heard—  
But it is hopeless for me to attempt to convey any idea of what happened. There was first a confused sound, which began so faintly as to be scarcely perceptible to the ear, but which never ceased, as of trumpets sounding and the clapping of innumerable hands. The impression was as if somewhere far away, at an enormous distance of space, down in some unfathomed abyss, vast multitudes of human beings were stirring. I felt that the unseen crowd was boiling and surging, swelling in countless waves of hurried life, and never silent with the voice of ceaseless shouting; but the sound was all dull and distant like the noises in a nightmare which seems to last for centuries. Then the air around the ruin appeared to get dark and thick, and I imagined I saw shadows rising up and passing along. These shadows were like the forms of tens of thousands, of millions, of soldiers. I could see the rounded forms of their helmets, and the sharp outlines of their spears. These shadowy spears and helmets shone in the moonbeams with countless gleams of pale light, and the whole ghostly army hastened forward, hurrying, advancing and still swelling—I felt in it the consciousness of an inexorable power capable of conquering the world. And yet not one shape had yet appeared distinctly. Suddenly a strange agitation moved the whole mass. It was as though immeasurable waves of living beings were parting asunder to this side and that, and drawing back, and thousands of thousands of human voices, far and confused like the rustling of leaves in a forest when the tempest smites it, were saying—'*Cæsar! Cæsar venit!*' A dull stroke was heard. And then a stern colourless head, crowned with laurels, with closed eyes and mouth, came slowly forth out of the dark ruin. It was the *Imperator*.

No words in any earthly tongue can express the deadly sensation of terror which now took possession of me. I felt that if the eyes or mouth of the figure opened, I should die at once.

'Ellis,' I cried. 'I neither will nor can endure this. Take



me away from Rome—this cruel, pitiless Rome. ‘Come away.’

‘What a coward you are,’ she said in a low voice.

And we passed away. As we went I heard behind me—loud enough now—the iron roar of the Roman legions. And then everything became a black blank.

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‘Look,’ said Ellis, ‘you need not be frightened.’

I remember that my first sensation was so delicious, that for a little while I could do nothing but breathe in gently the combination of sensuous satisfactions. I was in the midst of a sort of liquid blue, a kind of silvery brightness. And yet there was no mist, and no particular light. At first I could not see anything. The luminous blue haze seemed to blind me. Little by little my eyes distinguished the outlines of sublime mountains clad with forests. Below me was a noble lake, on whose surface trembled the reflection of the stars in heaven above. From the far-off shores I could hear the sound of the miniature waves that smote gently upon the beach. The heavy scent of orange-trees in blossom reached me, pure and strong, as in a wave of perfume—and strong and pure came with it the notes of a young woman’s voice. The odour and the sound both attracted me, and I expressed the wish to descend towards the earth. We moved in the direction of a splendid palace built of marble, which stood out in strong relief against a great grove of cypresses. The windows of the palace were all wide open, and it was from them that the voice came. The waters of the lake, here laden with the pollen of flowers, lapped against the marble walls of the building. Straight before us was an island covered with the dark foliage of oranges and laurels, amid which porticoes and colonnades, temples and statues, rose above the waters, all wrapped in the veil of luminous silvery haze.

‘This is the Isola Bella in the Lago Maggiore,’ said Ellis.

I could answer only by an inarticulate ejaculation. We descended lower and nearer. The notes of the singer’s voice became more distinct and drew me irresistibly to approach them. I wanted to look upon the face of her who was making such a night vocal with such music. We came close to the window.

I saw a room furnished as a room might have been furnished amid all the luxury of Pompeii before its destruction. It was more like a museum of antiquities than a room of the present day. There were gathered in it Greek sculptures, and Etruscan pottery, rare exotics and precious stuffs, illuminated by two lamps enclosed in crystal globes hanging from the ceiling. The light fell upon a young woman sitting alone at a piano. Her head was thrown a little back; her eyes were half shut; she was singing an Italian air. And as she sang, she smiled to herself. She smiled; and it seemed to me as if the image of a fawn, sculptured by Praxiteles, as young and careless, as sensuous and sensual as herself, were smiling back upon her from the marble niche where he stood embowered in flowering oleanders, and faintly obscured by the perfumed smoke which rose before him out of an antient bronze tripod. The girl was quite alone. Her music and her beauty, the perfection of the scene and the odours of the night, completely took possession of my senses. The sight of youth, freshness and pleasure thrilled through my whole being, and made me entirely forget that I had a companion with me—entirely forget the existence of the mysterious means by which alone I had been enabled to gaze upon the secret life of this unknown foreigner. I tried to go to the window and speak. All of a sudden my whole body felt a violent shock as though I had touched an electric battery. The half-transparent face of Ellis had become dark and threatening. Her eyes were strangely wide, and in them there burnt a look immeasurably evil.

‘Come,’ she said sharply. And then I heard the wind whistle until I became dizzy again. But the sound that lingered in my ears was not now the roar of the Roman legions. It was the last high note of the singer.

We stopped, but still I heard the same high note although I felt the sensation of another atmosphere, and perceived the smell of other exhalations. I felt a cool reviving breeze like the breath from some great river, and I inhaled the odour of hay, hemp, and smoke. The high note which sounded in my ears was long protracted; then it was succeeded by a second; and that again by a third. Their character was so marked, and I knew their modulations so well, that I said within myself at once, ‘That is a

Russian, singing a Russian air.' And thereupon all the things around me became gradually visible.

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We were on the bank of a great river. On the left hand new-mown fields, dotted with immense hayricks, stretched away as far as the eye could reach; on the right, the water extended to the limit of my sight. Close to the shore were anchored long ships, swaying gently with the stream, their moving masts like tall uncertain fingers indicating an unsettled point overhead. The voice of the new singer came from one of these vessels, on board which burnt a small fire that threw upon the flowing surface of the river a long red gleam, itself in perpetual movement as the waters stirred under its light. All around me, on the shore and in the meadows, glowed other fires. I could not tell whether they were near or distant. Sometimes they would go out all of a sudden, and then again, equally suddenly, they would blaze up again with a brilliant radiance. Myriads of grasshoppers chirped in the new-mown fields, as busy in their own way as the frogs of the Pontine Marshes. The sky was cloudless, but it was low and sombre, and from time to time I could hear plaintive cries from the flocks of birds which passed us unseen.

'Are not we in Russia?' I asked my companion.

'This is the Volga,' she replied.

We moved along above the edge of the stream.

'Why did you take me away from that lovely place?' I said. 'I suppose you did not like it. Are you sure you were not jealous?'

Ellis' lips trembled, and the evil look came into her face. Then in a few moments it passed away again, and her features wore once more the expression of passionless repose which generally marked them.

I told her I wanted to go home.

'Wait,' she answered, 'wait. This is the great night, to-night. It will not come back again soon. You can see—Wait a little—'

Presently we turned and crossed the great river, skimming the surface in a sort of slanting way, and in long swoops, as do the swallows when they are flying before an approaching storm. I

heard the dull roar of the mighty mass of water which flowed beneath us. I felt the cold, cutting wind blowing strongly. Presently the right bank began to loom through the half-darkness of the summer's night, and then appeared the steep cliffs, broken by deep glens. We drew near them.

'Call out "*Sarın na Kichkoo*,"'\* said Ellis, in a low voice. My nerves were still upset from the terror which had seized me at the sight of the Roman Legions. I was tired; and I felt excessively depressed, without exactly knowing why. In short, I had not the courage to do it. I did not wish to pronounce the desired words, because I felt sure that they would act like the charm in the incantation-scene in *Der Freischütz*, and cause the appearance of some appalling apparition. And yet, in spite of my own will, my mouth opened, and I uttered in a forced and weakened voice the words: '*Sarın na Kichkoo*.'

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For some time there was a complete silence, just as there had been in front of the ruin on the Appian Way. Then, all of a sudden, and close to me, I heard a rough laugh, immediately followed by a groan, and then the sound of some heavy body falling into the water with a splash and struggling.

I looked round me. There was absolutely nothing.

A moment later I heard the same sounds coming from the banks, and soon the whole air around me seemed alive with them. It was a tumult of noises: human cries, whistles, furious shouts, and peals of laughter. The laughter was more appalling than all the rest. Then came mingled sounds of oars plashing in the water, the dull crash of axes, and the noise of doors and boxes broken open, the creaking of ropes as men worked the rigging, the grinding of wheels labouring over the beach, the neighing of a number of horses, the pealing of bells tolled in excitement, the clanking of chains, the shouting of drunken choruses, gnashing of teeth, hideous oaths, sobbing, shrieks of despair, military words of

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\* These words are said to belong to some Tartar dialect, and were a war-cry of the pirates of the Volga. When the crews of the vessels which they boarded heard them, they were bound to throw themselves flat upon their faces upon pain of their lives.

command, the groans of the dying mixed with the gay playing of the fife and the music of wild songs. I could distinguish such words as 'Kill him,' 'Hang him,' 'Into the water with him,' 'Set it on fire,' 'Come on,' 'Get to your work,' 'No quarter.' I even heard the sound as of the last gasp of the dying. And all this while, as far as my sight extended, I could see nothing strange. Nothing appeared to break the peace of the landscape. The river flowed on as before, dull and dark. The shore seemed wilder and more solitary than ever. I turned and looked at Ellis. She laid her finger on her lips.

Suddenly a great cry arose from all the plain:—'Stephen Timotheïch! Stephen Timotheïch! Three cheers for our old Father! our Atamen! our Fosterer!' And then, although I could see nothing, I felt all at once in myself that a terrible presence was coming close to me, and I heard a dread voice that cried—'Florry, you dog, where are you? Put the fire about! Come on! Give the white hands a touch of the axe! I want some minced meat made of them!'

Then I felt the scorching heat of fire, volumes of pungent smoke choked my mouth and nose, and something warm and wet spirted over my face and hands. . . . I think it was hot blood. . . . And roars of laughter broke out all round me.

Here I lost consciousness.

When I came to myself, I was still with Ellis. We were floating gently in the air, near the edge of my own wood, not far from the old oak.

'Do you see that pretty little path,' she asked, 'down there where the moon is shining, where you see the two birches moving? Would you like to go there?'

I was so utterly worn out and broken that I could say nothing but—

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\* The historical allusion is to Stephen Timotheïch Razine, a cossack of the Don, about the middle of the Seventeenth Century. He began his career as a pirate on the Volga and in the Caspian, and was afterwards the leader of a formidable insurrection of serfs. He captured Astrakhan and laid waste several of the provinces of Southern Russia. He was ultimately captured, and broken upon the wheel. 'Florry' is his brother, Florus Razine. 'White-hands' is a popular nickname for gentlefolk.

‘Home.’

‘You are at home,’ said Ellis.

And so I was. I was at my own door. And I was quite alone. Ellis had entirely disappeared. The watch-dog came near me, examined me cautiously, and then ran away howling. I managed to get to my room, though I was so exhausted that it cost me an hard struggle. I threw myself upon my bed, and fell into a dead sleep without taking off my clothes.

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The next morning I had an headache which lasted all the forenoon. I could hardly get about at all. But the fact that I felt so ill in body was not what most annoyed me. I was ashamed of the want of nerve which I had displayed. I kept reproaching myself with cowardice, and was angry at the reflection. Yes. Ellis had been quite right. What had there been to be afraid of? Why could not I have taken advantage of the opportunity? I might have gazed upon the great Cæsar himself, in fashion as he lived, and, instead of that, my head had turned with fright, and I had whined and run away, like a child at the sight of the birch-rod. As for Razine, perhaps it was a different story, seeing I was myself a gentleman and a landlord—but, after all, what was there to be afraid of there either? I had shown myself a coward, simply a coward.

Then it occurred to me that the most probable explanation of the whole thing was simply that I had had a dream. I called up my housekeeper.

‘Martha, do you remember what o’clock I went to bed last night?’

‘Dear me, sir, I am sure I could not say. I think it was rather late. Just when it was getting dark, you went out; and I heard the heels of your boots on the floor of your room till past twelve. It was later than twelve. It was towards the morning. Yes, I am sure it was towards morning. And that is two nights that you have been like that. Has something happened to upset you, sir?’

I thought there could be no doubt about it now.

‘How am I looking to-day, Martha?’

‘How are you looking, sir? Just excuse me. Well, sir, your



cheeks are a little hollow, and you are pale-like. Indeed, sir, you look as yellow as a wax-candle.'

I was rather put out, and sent her away.

I went to the window and thought. Either I must be going to die or I must be going to go mad. The thing could not go on this way. It was too frightful. Then I noticed that my heart was beating in a strange, irregular way. It struck me that when I was being carried through the air, a kind of effect was produced as if something was draining the blood out of me, or as if it was oozing away, just as the sap oozes out of a birch tree in the spring-time, when the tree has had the first cuts of the axe. All this was something unnatural. And then, Ellis. What in the world could Ellis be? I felt that she was playing with me, as a cat will play with a mouse. And yet, surely, she did not go on as if she had any wish or intention to do me harm. However, I made up my mind to one thing. Only once more, once more only, would I give myself up to her. I would notice anything I could, and—then it flashed upon my mind that it might be she who absorbed, who sucked my blood. The idea was terrible.—But, after all, one could not be carried through the air at such a rate without suffering some harm. They say that in England it is forbidden for the railway trains to go more than 80 miles an hour.

I thought about it all a great deal. And the end of it was, that I was at the old oak at ten o'clock that night.

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It was a cold, gloomy, dark night. There was a feeling of approaching rain in the air. To my great astonishment, there was no one under the oak. I took a turn. I went as far as the wood, and then came back again, peering into the darkness all the time. There was nobody about. I waited for a considerable while. Then I called out Ellis' name several times, each time louder than the last. But there was no result. I was sorry, almost distressed. Not long before, the main thought in my mind had been the danger which I was possibly running. Now that consideration had passed away. And I could not bear the idea that Ellis would never come back to me again.

'Ellis!' I called out for the last time, 'Ellis! come! are not

you coming?' A rook on the top of a tree not far off was disturbed by my voice, and flew down, making a noise among the branches. But there was no sign of Ellis.

I returned towards the house, with my head bowed.

When I reached the walk which goes round the pond, I came in sight of the light from my bed-room window, and it seemed to me like the bright eye of some watcher charged to keep guard over me. As I walked on, it sometimes shone on me uninterrupted, and was sometimes broken by the intervening branches of the apple trees which the windings of the walk brought in the way, to intercept its rays.

Suddenly I heard a sort of sharp rustle behind me, but high up in the air, and in an instant after, I was lifted up off the earth, just as a quail is lifted by an hawk.

It was Ellis. Her cheek was pressing against mine, and I felt her arm round me like a tight ring. She spoke, and when her voice—the same soft murmuring whisper as at other times—breathed into my ear, I had the sensation of feeling a breath of frozen wind.

'It is me,' she said. I was glad, and yet I now again felt fear also. We were moving along at no great distance above the earth.

'Did not you want to come to-day?' I asked.

'And were you vexed?' she answered. 'Then you care about me. Oh, you belong to me.'

The last words troubled me. I could think of nothing to say in reply. She continued—

'I could not come. They kept me.'

'Who are able to keep you?' I enquired.

'Where would you like to go?' said Ellis, without taking any notice of the question.

'Take me to Italy—to that lake—you know.'

She shook her head in refusal. At this moment I noticed for the first time, that her face was now no longer half-transparent. I thought I could even see a faint rosy colour flushing the milky whiteness of her complexion. I looked at her eyes. They gave me a disagreeable impression. There seemed to be alive in their depths an evil light, almost imperceptible but never absent, which

made me think of a half frozen snake beginning to get thawed in the warmth of the sun.

‘Ellis,’ I said. ‘Who are you? I implore you to tell me.’

She merely shrugged her shoulders in silence. I felt irritated and thought I would punish her. It occurred to me to ask her to take me to Paris. I thought I should be able to make her feel jealous there.

‘Ellis,’ I asked. ‘Are you afraid of big towns, like Paris?’

‘No.’

‘Not even the places that are all lighted up, like the Boulevards?’

‘It is not the light of day.’

‘All right. Take me to the Boulevard des Italiens.’

She threw the end of one of her long sleeves over my head. All at once I found I was in the middle of a thick white fog which smelt of poppies. Then everything seemed to pass away at once—sight, and hearing, and almost consciousness. I hardly knew that I was still alive, and this half-forgetfulness of existence was not without a kind of refined feeling of sensuousness of its own. Then the mist suddenly disappeared. Ellis took her sleeve away from my face. Underneath me I saw a vast number of tall buildings, and a great deal of light and movement. I was at Paris.

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I had been at Paris before, and I recognised immediately the place to which Ellis had brought me. It was the Garden of the Tuileries, with its old Spanish chestnuts, its iron railings, its old military fosses and the zouaves like wild beasts who were posted there as sentinels. We passed in front of the Palace, and before the Church of St. Roch, and stopped above the Boulevard des Italiens. A crowd of people, young and old, were moving along the pavement,—workmen in blouses, women in careful toilettes. Restaurants and cafés plastered with gilding blazed with thousands of lights. Omnibus’, cabs, and carriages of every sort and kind crossed one another continually in the street. The whole thing glittered and moved so that the eye was quite confused. At the same time, strange as it may appear, I felt no inclination whatever to quit my pure and lofty point of observa-

tion in order to mix myself up in this human ant-hill. I felt rising towards me an heavy heated glare and a close unnatural smell. There were too many human lives all crowded together in this mass.

I was wondering what I should do, when the voice of a *lorette* reached my ears from below, as shrill and as hard as the screech of metal upon metal. The shameless sound gave me the same kind of feeling as though some foul insect had bitten me. My mind's eye saw the stony, round, flat face—that true Parisian type—lighted by eyes like an usurer's, the white and red paint, the frizzled hair, the gaudy nosegay of artificial flowers stuck under the diminutive bonnet, the finger-nails pared into points, and the vast crinoline. And I figured to myself one of our own simple country squires, fresh from the steppes, just arrived at Paris, and trotting abjectly after this base venal doll. I could picture him trying to hide his awkwardness under an affectation of grossness, forcing his voice into a falsetto and striving to make his r's as guttural as possible, copying the ways of the waiters at Vefour's, making bows and grimaces, and finding nothing to say but platitudes. A strong emotion of disgust took possession of me. It was certainly not here, I realized, that Ellis would find anything to make her feel jealous. I noticed, however, that we were descending towards the earth. Paris greeted us with all her noises and all her smells.

'Stop,' I said. 'Do not you find it enough to stifle you?'

'It was you that wanted to come to Paris.'

'Yes,' I answered, 'but I was wrong, and I have changed my mind. Please, Ellis, take me away. Take me a long way from here. Just look there. There is Prince Koulmanetoff going about the Boulevard, and his friend Sergius Baraxine is gesticulating to him, and calling out, 'Come along to supper, Ivan Stephanich, I have got Rigolboche\* to come herself.' Oh, Ellis, take me away! Take me away from Mabilie, and the Maison Dorée, and the Jockey Club, from the soldiers with shaven fore-

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\* A Parisian ballet-dancer of the baser sort, who once attained considerable notoriety, less from any pretensions to the poetry of movement than from a certain exceptional power of physical distortion.

heads and their huge palaces of barracks, and the policemen with imperials upon their chins; take me away from the cloudy glasses of absinthe, the domino-players, and the gamblers on the Bourse, the button-holes with the bits of red ribbon in them, and the great-coats with bits of red ribbon in their button-holes too, away from M. de Foy, the inventor of the *spécialité des mariages*, and from the gratuitous consultations of M. le docteur Charles Albert; take me away from the *cours de littérature* and the pamphlets published by the Government; take me away from the region of Parisian comedies, Parisian operettas, Parisian politeness and Parisian ignorance. Let us get away!

'Look down,' said Ellis; 'you are not at Paris.'

I opened my eyes. Below me there was nothing but a dusky, monotonous plain, streaked here and there with long, straight, white lines, stretching as far as the eye could reach, indicating the roads. We were passing rapidly over it. And far away at the horizon, like the glow of a great fire, rose towards the sky the reflection of the countless lights of the capital of the world.

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Ellis' sleeve covered my face again, and once more I became unconscious.

When I recovered my senses, I asked myself where I could be. I saw a park with long avenues of lime trees clipped into the likeness of walls. Here and there stood single fir-trees cut into the shape of parasols. There were porticoes and temples in the Pompadour style, rococo statues of tritons and nymphs in the manner of Bernini grouped in the middle of strangely-shaped stone tanks or basins surrounded by blackened marble balustrades. Was it Versailles? No. A small palace in rococo architecture stood out in front of a dense grove of oaks. The moon was dull, obscured by a light mist, and a filmy whiteness covered the surface of the ground. I could not see what this whiteness was, whether it were caused by the moonbeams or by a mist. On the water in one of the stone basins floated a swan asleep. The gleam of its white back reminded me of the look of our own plains when they are clad in their winter covering of frozen snow. A glow-worm shone here and there like a diamond upon the grass, or upon the base of a statue.

'We are near Mannheim,' said Ellis. This is the Park of Schwetzingen.\*

'In Germany are we?' thought I, and then I set myself to listen. There was no sound whatever, except the splash of a fountain somewhere out of sight, but whose waters were evidently falling into some basin. Their murmur seemed to me as if it continually repeated the words, 'Here, here, always here.' Then in the middle of one of the long walks between the straight walls of foliage, I saw two figures. One was a gentleman in an embroidered coat, with red-heeled shoes and lace ruffles, and his sword striking gently on his calves as he walked. He gave his hand with exquisite grace to a beautiful lady in hoops, with curled hair powdered as with hoar-frost. Curious pale figures! I wanted to look at them near, but they disappeared almost at once, and I heard nothing but the constant murmur of the fountain.

'They are only dreams that go about here,' said Ellis. 'Last night we might have seen a very different story—lots of things. But to-night even the dreams do not want men to look at them. Come along.'

We rose high into the air and then shot along in a flight so steady that no farther movement was perceptible, and all the world below seemed to fly forwards to meet us. Dark mountains jagged and clad with forests swept beneath us, only to give place to other mountains, with the same outlines, the same valleys, the same glades and clearings, the same stars of red light shining from the windows of quiet cottages perched beside the mountain streams—and still one view of mountains only passed away to be succeeded by another.

We were passing over the Black Forest.

Mountain upon mountain, forest upon forest. Noble forests, ancient but full of life. It was a clear night. I could make out all the different kinds of trees, but principally the tall pines with their straight, whitish trunks. Now and then, at the outside of

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\* Schwetzingen is a town of Baden, about six miles to the South-west of Heidelberg, on the Leimbach. Its palace, which is surrounded with very beautiful gardens and pleasure-grounds, formerly belonged to the Electors Palatine, and during the Eighteenth Century was their principal residence.



some stretch of woodland I could see roe-deer, lying with their slight limbs folded under them, and gracefully turning their heads to watch, while they pricked up their delicate ears. On the top of a lofty crag the remains of a mediæval castle rose mournfully, showing the line of the ruined battlements against the sky, in which a star shone peacefully, high above the forgotten stones. From a little black lake rose the clear croaking of the frogs answering each other in a minor key. And again there were other sounds, long drawn and sad, like notes of an Eolian harp—and I remembered that it was the haunted land of myth and legend. Here again I saw the open ground on every side clothed with the same light white vapour which I had noticed at Schwetzingen. It was in the valleys that this mist lay thickest, and I counted not five or six only, but as many as ten distinct degrees of it as it stretched up the sides of the mountains. And above all this vast and monotonous landscape the moon reigned tranquilly in the heavens. The air was light and bracing. In it I felt myself brightened, and wonderfully calm.

‘Ellis,’ said I, ‘you must be fond of this country.’

‘Me?’ she answered, ‘I am not fond of anything.’

‘What? Not of me?’ I asked.

‘Oh, yes—you,’ she replied carelessly. And then I thought I felt her arm pressing me to her harder than before.

‘On, on,’ she said, with a sort of icy determination.

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A loud, harsh cry, taken up and repeated again, sounded suddenly above our heads, and then in an instant in front of us.

‘It is the rear-guard of the storks, who are going North,’ said Ellis. ‘We will go with them, if you like.’

‘Yes,’ I answered. ‘Let us fly with the storks.’

Thirteen large and beautiful birds marshalled in the form of a triangle were sweeping rapidly towards the North. At long intervals they gave a few strokes with their strong, curved wings. Their heads were stretched out in front and their legs behind, and their brave breasts met the air which whistled around them in the swiftness of their course. It was a strange sight to behold at this immense height, so far away removed from all other

living things, this bold and hardy life, this energetic will. As they clove the air without a moment's pause or stay, the other storks from time to time exchanged a cry with their comrade who formed the apex of the triangle. There was something proud and stern, like the vigorous assurance of unshaken confidence, in the sound of these loud cries, as they seemed to say to one another in the air, 'We shall fly to the point which we intend, whether we are tired or not.' And it occurred to me that in Russia—and in all the world, for the matter of that—there are not many men with such a resolution.

'It is in Russia that we are,' said Ellis.

It was not the first time that I had observed that she read my thoughts.

'Do you want to go somewhere else?' she continued.

'Somewhere else?' I answered. 'No. I have just been to Paris. Take me to St. Petersburg.'

'At once?'

'Yes. Only cover me with your sleeve, or I shall get giddy.'

She stretched out her hand. But before the mist again enwrapt me, I felt once more upon my lips the kind of dulled prick which I had already felt before.

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'Beware,' cried a voice in my ears. 'Beware,' repeated another voice in the distance, as though with a despairing effort. 'Beware,' sounded a third from the very ends of the earth. I aroused myself. Before my eyes was a tall gilt steeple. I recognised the Fortress of St. Petersburg.

It was the summer night of the North, the night wherein there is no darkness. Or is it indeed really night at all? Is it not rather a kind of dull, unwholesome day? I never had liked the summer nights at St. Petersburg. And on this occasion the sight caused me a sort of fear. The form of Ellis had entirely disappeared. She had melted away, dissolved like a morning mist by a July sun, and yet there was my own body which I could see hanging heavily in the air, about the height of the top of the Alexander Column. Well, and so we were at St. Petersburg. Certainly we were. I saw the huge grey deserts of streets, the houses all whitish grey, yellowish grey, or purplish grey, covered

with plaster, which was coming off in patches. I saw the windows buried deep in the walls, the gaudy painted signs of the shops, the iron pent-houses over the door-steps. I saw the dirty fruit-stalls, the Grecian façades made of stucco, the inscriptions, the drinking troughs for the cab-horses, and the police-stations. I saw the domes of St. Isaac's Cathedral covered with plates of gold, the Exchange where no business is transacted, and all its odd medley of colours, the granite walls of the Fortress, and the worn and uneven wood-pavement of the streets. I saw the barges loaded with firewood and hay. I recognised all the smells of dust, cabbages, matting, bark, and stables; the porters motionless and asleep in their great-coats, and the night-cabmen curled up upon their old vehicles. Yes, here was indeed our Palmyra of the North. Everything was quite light, everything was distressingly distinct, everything was sleeping dismally in the clear, dull atmosphere. The consumptive pink of the preceding sunset had not yet quite disappeared towards the West, nor was it going to disappear until a new morning should awaken the starless white sky. The coloured reflection fell here and there in long patches upon the troubled surface of the Neva, whose cold blue waters were murmuring in their slow passage towards the Gulf.

'Let us go,' said Ellis, and, without waiting for my assent, she bore me across the river, beyond the square before the Palace, near to the Foundry. There I heard steps and voices below us. A party of young men with a haggard air were passing along the street, talking about a low ball. A sentinel who had fallen asleep near a pile of rusty cannon-balls woke up with a start, and called out, 'Sub-Lieutenant Stolpakoff Seven!'<sup>\*</sup> A little further on, I saw a young woman sitting at the open window of a great house. She was dressed in a ragged silk gown, her arms were bare, her hair was fastened back with pearls, and she had a cigarette in her mouth. She was eagerly studying a book. The book was a work by a Juvenal of the present day.

I said to Ellis, 'Let us get away quick.'

In a moment the scanty woods of stunted fir-trees and the

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<sup>\*</sup> In the Russian service, where there happen to be several officers of the same name, they are distinguished by numbers.

moss-grown bogs which form the environs of St. Petersburg had passed beneath us. We fled towards the South. The earth and the sky became darker and darker. The unwholesome night, the unwholesome day-light, the unwholesome city, were all left far behind.\*

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We moved more slowly than we had been used to do. My eye could follow the changes which succeeded each other in the aspect of my native land. The panorama seemed unending: woods, moors, fields, undulations, rivers; at long intervals, churches and villages; then again fields, undulations, and rivers.

I felt out of temper, weary, and indifferent. But if I was weary and out of temper, it was not because all that now passed beneath me was Russia. No.

This earth, this flat surface spread below my eyes, the whole world with its population of fleeting, puny creatures, stifling with wants, with sorrows, and with sicknesses, attached to this wretched ball of dust, this frail and wrinkled crust, this excrescence upon the surface of that grain of sand, our planet, whereon has gathered a mouldy coating which we dignify with the title of the Vegetable Kingdom—these human beings like flies, but a thousand times more contemptible, their dwellings of clay, the petty traces of their miserable and monotonous quarrels, their ridiculous struggles against the inexorable and the inevitable—the whole thing seemed to me simply repulsive. I felt sick. I did not want to go on looking at so mean a picture, so trivial a

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\* It is curious to compare this unfavourable description of St. Petersburg with a similar passage in a work by another Russian novelist, Dostoevsky. 'I have come to the conclusion,' says one of the characters in *Crime and Punishment*, 'that quantities of people at St. Petersburg walk about talking to themselves. The population is half-cracked. If we had real men of science, the doctors, the lawyers and the philosophers would all be able to make very curious studies here, each of them in his own line. There is nowhere where the human mind suffers from such strange and gloomy influences. The action of the climate is baneful, to begin with. And, unfortunately, St. Petersburg is the centre of the administration of the whole country, and the consequence is that it gets reflected over all Russia.'

caricature. I was more than weary and indifferent. I ceased even to feel compassion for my fellow-men. My feelings seemed all to melt into one emotion, and an emotion which I hardly like to confess,—simply disgust, and disgust at myself as well as at all the rest.

‘Stop,’ murmured Ellis in a low voice, ‘or I shall not be able to carry you. You are getting heavy.’

‘Home,’ I said. I uttered the word in the same tone as that in which I should have said it to my coachman, at four o’clock in the morning, on leaving a supper at some friend’s house in Moscow, after a conversation upon the future of Russia, and the true meaning of the principle of the Commune. ‘Home,’ I said: and shut my eyes. But I soon opened them.

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I felt Ellis suddenly press herself violently against me, as if she were pushing me forward. I looked at her—and my blood turned cold. If he who reads this has ever seen an human countenance transfigured by the most deadly terror, when there was nothing to be seen to inspire it, he may form some idea of what I saw. An horror, an agony of fear beyond words convulsed and distorted her features. I had never yet seen a living face with such an expression. And here I saw it in a soulless phantom, a preternatural creature, a mere shadow. . . .

‘Ellis,’ I asked, ‘What is the matter?’

‘It is it,’ answered she, with a struggle.

‘What?’ I said.

‘Do not name it! Do not name it!’ she gasped hastily. ‘We must escape—or it will all be over—for ever\*—look!—there it is—.’

I followed with my eyes the direction of her shaking hand, and I saw something—something which was indeed awful.

The thing I saw was all the more appalling because it had no defined shape. It was an heavy mass, dark, of a yellowish black

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\* The reader will remember the stress which the late Hans Christian Andersen, in his *Mermaid*, has laid upon the belief that these elemental spirits possess no immortal souls, and can only obtain one under peculiar conditions.

tint, and mottled, like the belly of an ask.\* It was not a cloud or a mist. It moved gradually over the surface of the earth, like a reptile. It displayed vast movements, sometimes upwards, and then again downwards, the one side always in perfect harmony with the other, which reminded me of the elevation and depression of the wings in a bird of prey which is about to launch itself towards its victim. At other times again, it laid itself low upon the earth and moved on in an hideous series of contractions and expansions like a worm. Its advance reminded me of that of the spider as it creeps upon the fly which has become entangled in its web. What was it? At its approach, I noticed that everything grew numbed, everything became unnerved. From around it spread a deadly and death-dealing chill, which made the heart turn faint, the eyes grow dim, and the hair stiffen upon the head. It was a moving Power, a Power which nothing can stop and nothing can overcome, a Power which has no shape, no sight, and no thought, but which sees everything and knows everything, a Power more rapacious than any bird of prey, a Power which is wiser than the serpent, and like the serpent touches and kills with its icy tongue.

‘Oh, Ellis!’ I cried with a cold shudder, ‘It is DEATH.’

The plaintive sound which I had already heard before escaped from her lips. But now it seemed to me like the groan of human despair. She threw herself into violent movement, but her flight had now become disordered and irregular. She soared and then swooped and dived, and turned and changed her direction continually, like a partridge which is striving to direct the attention of a dog from the neighbourhood of her nest.

But out of the terrible form there came forth long tentacles, thin and hideous like the tentacles of a polypus, which stretched out after us seeking us with their claws.

Suddenly there appeared in the sky a vast figure of a pale horse, and one that sat on him.

Ellis now struggled more violently than ever.

‘It has seen us,’ she cried amid gasping sobs. ‘It is all over

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\* The English name of this animal varies in different districts. It is sometimes called a newt, an effet, or a triton. It is the water-lizard.



—woe to me—I might—I might have lived—now—destroyed—destroyed—.’

These were the last words that I heard before I became insensible.

When I came to myself, I was lying upon my back upon some grass, and my whole body ached with a dull pain as if I had fallen from an height. Day was breaking, and the light was already sufficient to show objects clearly. At a little distance from me, I saw a road planted with young willows on either side, skirting a wood of birches. I recognized the spot. I began in my mind to go over the different things which had happened during the night. I shuddered as I recalled the frightful apparition with which it had closed. But I was puzzled to explain to myself the deadly terror which had so suddenly taken possession of Ellis. Could it really be, I asked myself, that she also was subject to that Power? Was it possible that she was a being who possessed no immortal soul, a thing predestinated to annihilation? But then how could such a creature be?

I heard a feeble gasp near me, and looked round. About six feet from me lay, motionless upon the grass, a young woman clothed in a white garment down to the feet. Her hair was long and dishevelled, and her dress had slipped off one of her shoulders and left it bare. Her left hand was underneath her head; the right lay upon her breast. Her eyes were shut. Upon her lips there was a little light foam, slightly tinged with blood. My first notion was that this was Ellis. But Ellis was a phantasm, whereas this was a solid woman made of flesh and bones. I dragged myself to her, and bent over her.

‘Ellis,’ I said. ‘Is this you?’

At once a slight shiver passed through the woman’s frame. Her eyes opened, and the great black eyes fixed their gaze upon me. I seemed fascinated and rendered immoveable, but hardly had I realized it when her hot, sensuous lips, all tasting of blood, were wildly pressed on mine, a burning breast was thrust against my chest, and her arms were clasped passionately round my neck.

‘Good-bye for ever,’ said a voice which seemed to die away.

And all at once the figure had entirely disappeared.

I staggered to my feet like a drunken man. I rubbed my eyes continually. I searched all about the place. At last I found myself upon the N—— road, rather more than a mile from my own house. I went home. The sun had already appeared above the horizon when I gained my room.

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Next night I awaited, not, I confess, without some fear, the reappearance of the apparition. But it never came again. One night I went to the old oak, but I met with nothing out of the common order.

I was not particularly sorry that these strange meetings had come to an end. I have often thought about them. I am sure that science can give no explanation of them, and I know of no myth or legend which tells of anything quite like them. After all, what was Ellis? Was she a phantom? Was she one of the souls of the lost? Was she an evil spirit? Was she a vampire? Often and often it has come to my mind that Ellis was a woman whom I had known before—and I have racked my brains to think where and when. Once—to-day—just now, it flashed upon me, and now it has gone out of my head again. My memory is getting confused. I have thought much on the subject, and I cannot make head or tail of it: perhaps no one can wonder. I have not dared to speak to my friends about it, for fear they should think I have become insane. At last, I have come to the conclusion that the wisest thing I can do is to think as little about it as possible. There are plenty of other things with which I ought to concern myself.

As regards my property, the emancipation of the serfs has made it necessary to have everything re-settled, and as to myself, my health has got bad. There is something the matter with my chest, I cannot sleep, and I have an hard cough. I am a great deal thinner than I was. The doctor says that it is my blood that is wrong. He calls my illness *anæmia*. He says I must go to take waters at Gastein. My agent says that he cannot arrange the estate affairs without me. He must just arrange them as best he can.

What I cannot understand is that, whenever I am told that anybody is dead, I hear sweet notes of music, perfectly clear and

distinct. And they are more distinct now, and louder, than they used to be. And the very thought of annihilation makes a kind of shudder go through me. Why should it do that ?

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ART. IV.—THE RELIGIOUS EDUCATION DIFFICULTY  
IN ENGLAND.

‘THE Final Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Elementary Education Acts for England and Wales’ is a tremendous volume, extending to 500 pages of foolscap, in addition to three volumes of evidence already published. The Commission was appointed in January 1886, and terminated its labours in June, 1888. It is to be feared that it has laboured too much. Such an amount of evidence has been collected, so many points have been dealt with, and the Commissioners have reported and have stated their reasons for differing at such length, that it seems almost a hopeless task to condense the facts and opinions set forth into a form convenient and accessible for future reference. The conscientious and exhaustive manner in which the work has been done raises a grave danger that it will share the fate of so many Parliamentary Blue-Books, and remain as a monument of painstaking, yet useless labour. Few people can afford to wade through 500 foolscap pages in the search for useful information, especially when they find that what is said by a majority of the Commission on one page is contradicted by a large minority on another. Thus, 223 pages are taken up by the report of fifteen members, followed by thirteen pages of ‘reservations’ by different members. After this comes a separate report, signed by eight members, extending to thirteen pages, followed by a ‘reservation,’ which again is followed by a supplemental report of 142 pages by five members (with one ‘reservation’), who in addition to signing the report of the minority wished ‘to discuss more in detail the evidence taken before them and the general position of elementary education at the present time.’ This discussion of

details has certainly not been limited, extending as it does to more than a quarter of the whole volume, and one would have thought that all subordinate matters might have been embraced in the report of the majority. There are of course some points arising in every inquiry of this nature on which certain members feel so strongly, that no compromise is possible and separate reports are inevitable, but there are various minor matters on which a certain amount of concession may be expected from all sides; and failing such compromise, the probability is that none of the recommendations of the Commission will be carried out. The object of such a Commission is to collect evidence on disputed points, and on the strength of such evidence to offer to Her Majesty opinions and recommendations which may afford Parliament a basis of future action. But if the opinions are hopelessly at variance even as to the meaning of the evidence adduced, their labours are likely to be of little use, except in so far as correct information may be gathered by any reader from the printed evidence. Few people, however, will engage in that monotonous task, and the public will no doubt accept the report of the majority or of the minority, according as it represents the opinion they already hold.

The real cause of variance between the two sections of the Commission is easy discernible. It is the old question of religious teaching, and feeling seems to run so strongly on the subject, that it makes the Commissioners differ even in matters where one would think that they might very easily agree. The points reported on are very numerous, comprising, for instance, the law and administration of education from 1832 to the present day, the existing school supply, management and inspection, teachers, training colleges, attendance, religious, technical and other instruction, income and expenditure, and Parliamentary grant. Yet the question of Board *versus* voluntary schools—in short, the religious difficulty—seems to affect every other, and accounts for the fact that an important minority have found it necessary to report separately, not merely on the religious, but on nearly every other question submitted to them. The religious difficulty being thus the

root of the whole matter, is by far the most important part of the report, and is the only one which we have space to notice.

The position of Scotland in this matter offers an instructive contrast to the difficulties that beset the question in England. It is not too much to say that in the northern portion of the Kingdom, the religious difficulty is solved, and that, with the exception of a trifling minority, all parties are satisfied with the existing condition of affairs. It cannot be denied, that in everything connected with education, Scotland has always occupied a leading position. In England, the subject, in former times, was always treated as one with which the State had nothing to do, and which had better be left to private benevolence. At a very early period, schools were established for the benefit of the poor, but they were due either to the efforts of the Roman Catholic Church, or to private generosity, and they were quite inadequate to the wants of the nation. It was only at the beginning of the present century, that an attempt was made to place a sufficient amount of elementary education within the reach of the people, by the establishment in 1808 of the British and Foreign School Society, and in 1811, of the National Society for the education of the poor in the principles of the Established Church (incorporated by Royal Charter). But both these societies were supported entirely by voluntary contributions, and the education which they supplied, was not the result of legislation. The first statute upon the subject of elementary education appears in 1870, and there being no former efforts to improve or modify, no former enactments are repealed by it. Though money had been annually voted since 1833, it was in 1870 that Parliament for the first time began to deal with probably the most important question that has ever been before it, and owing partly to its own neglect, found the field already in great measure occupied by contending denominations. In Scotland, on the contrary, Parliament found in 1872, that two centuries before, the duty of education had been recognised by the State, and an attempt made to establish a universal system of education by making it a burden on land. The most instructive commentary on the history of the two countries is

contained in the fact that the Scottish Act of 1872 repealed four previous statutes, while the English Act of 1870 found nothing to repeal.

Indeed, nearly *four* centuries before, Scotland seems to have had some conception of a system of compulsory education. Thus, as early as 1494, in the fifth Parliament of James IV., we find it 'statute and ordained that all barons and freeholders that are of substance put their eldest sons and heirs to the schools, fra they be six or nine years of age, and to remain at the Grammar-schools until they be competently founded and have perfect Latin. And thereafter to remain three years at the schools of art and jure, so that they may have knowledge and understanding of the Laws; Through the which justice may remain universally through all the Realm; so that they that are Sheriffs or Judges Ordinary under the King's Highness may have knowledge to do justice,' &c. At this date, however, education was apparently considered necessary only in the case of 'Barons and Free-Holders,' and for the purpose of the better administration of justice, and it is not till 120 years later that we find the first attempt to provide schools for all the population. In 1616, by an Act of the Privy Council, it was provided 'that in every parish of this kingdom, when convenient means may be had for entertaining a school, a school shall be established.' This determination of the Privy Council was ratified by a Parliament of Charles I. in 1633, powers being given to the bishops, with consent of the heritors and 'most part of the parishioners, to set down and stent upon every plough or husband land according to the worth for maintenance and establishing of the said schools.' How far these enactments were successful in accomplishing this object cannot now be determined, but it would appear that they were only partially so; for in 1696, c. 26, we find the celebrated Act 'for settling of schools,' which recites that 'Our Sovereign Lord (William III.), considering how prejudicial the want of schools in many places have been, and how beneficial the establishing and settling thereof in every parish will be to this Church and kingdom; therefore His Majesty, with advice and consent of the estates of Parliament, statutes and ordains that



there be a school settled and established, and a schoolmaster appointed in every parish not already provided, by advice of the heritors and minister of the parish.' For this purpose the heritors in every parish were to meet and provide a school-house, and fix the schoolmaster's salary, and lay on the necessary assessment on themselves and on their tenants. If they failed in this duty, the Presbytery were to apply to the Commissioners of Supply, who had power to do it for them, and the assessment was to be as valid and effectual as if the heritors had done it themselves. This Act being compulsory and not merely permissive, achieved its object. The heritors, with the fear of the Presbytery before their eyes, did as they were told, and the result was that Scotland attained a high position among civilized nations in the matter of education. Indeed, it would be more accurate to say that from that date Scotland, from being a barbarous and unknown land, became an important, and in proportion to her population, one of the most important nations of the world. 'Before one generation had passed away, it began to be evident that the common people of Scotland were superior in intelligence to the common people of any other country in Europe. To whatever land the Scotchman might wander, to whatever calling he might betake himself, in America or in India, in trade or in war, the advantage which he derived from his early training raised him above his competitors. If he was taken into a warehouse as a porter, he soon became foreman. If he enlisted in the army, he soon became a serjeant. Scotland, meanwhile, in spite of the barrenness of her soil, and the severity of her climate, made such progress in agriculture, in manufactures, in commerce, in letters, in science, in all that constitutes civilization, as the Old World had never seen equalled, and as even the New World has scarcely seen surpassed. This wonderful change is to be attributed not indeed solely, but principally, to the national system of education.' Such is the language of Macaulay\* as to the results of this Act, and there are no grounds for deeming it exaggerated. During the following

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\**History of England*, chap. 22.

century Scotland advanced by 'leaps and bounds,' partly, no doubt, owing to commercial and other advantages conferred by the Union with England, but in far greater measure owing to the education of her citizens. The provisions of the Act were apparently found sufficient for the wants of the country, and for more than a century the subject of education is not mentioned in the statute book. By slow degrees, no doubt, the parish schools spread over the face of the land, and the fruits were seen in the universal prosperity of the nation; but there was seemingly no ambition to rise to greater efficiency until 1803, when we find an Act raising the teachers' salaries and making provision for the establishment of side-schools in large parishes. In 1838, the Treasury were authorised to provide for the endowment of additional schools in the 'Highlands and Islands.' In 1861 the salaries of teachers were again raised, provision was made for the establishment of girls' schools, and schoolmasters were relieved from the obligation to sign the Confession of Faith and Formula of the Church of Scotland.

But from that time, both in England and in Scotland, education became a burning question, culminating for England in the legislation of 1870, and for Scotland in that of 1872. Both countries desired greater efficiency in the education of their children; both were anxious (1) that every child should be sent to school, (2) that an efficient school should be conveniently accessible to every child. But a terrible difficulty in both countries loomed behind. From time immemorial education had meant the teaching of theology and the observance of religion, as well as instruction in secular subjects. In the good old days there had been no great difficulty in the matter. The religious party who, for the time being, had the upper hand inculcated their own views on the minority with a supreme contempt for the opinions of their opponents. If the minority differed from those in power so much the worse for them. *Væ victis* was a natural and proper state of matters. But an advanced civilization has taught us to be tender to other people's opinions, at least in matters of religion. There are indeed few historical phenomena more

curious or interesting than the change which has come over the opinions of a large section of the community on the question of education as connected with religion. In the New Testament we read that the apostles were 'unlearned and ignorant' men, but even at that period it may be doubted if the early Christians were more unlearned or ignorant than their heathen oppressors. At all events, as Christianity grew and flourished, the positions were reversed, and by the Middle Ages learning and piety were supposed to go hand in hand. Whether true piety was always to be found accompanying learning may be doubted, but certainly the religious institutions, the convents and the monasteries, were the home and the nursery of education. Outside of them we find nothing but ignorance reigning by brute force. It was only the man who made religion a profession who could boast of any education, and the man who was learned without being religious, was a rare exception, who ran considerable danger of being burned for his pains. After the Reformation, the connection between religion and education remained as strong as ever. The Protestant churches considered education as much under their care and supervision as the Roman Catholic had done. That the day would ever come when a considerable portion of the nation—and they by no means heretics or infidels—would eagerly advocate the entire severance of education from religion in every shape or form, and the institution of State schools from which all religious teaching and every religious observance should be strictly barred, would have been deemed incredible. There is an interesting Scots Act of 1587, c. ii., in the Parliament of James VI., which prettily illustrates the prevailing opinion of the time upon this subject. It is as follows:—'Forasmeikle as by all Laws and Constitutions, it is provided, that the youth be brocht up and instructed in the fear of God, and gude manners; and gif it be otherwise, it is tinsel baith of their bodies and saules, gif God's word be not ruted in them wherefore' all schools and all Universities and colleges were to be reformed, and no one was to have charge of them, 'nor to instruct the youth privately or openly, but such as shall be tried by the Superin-

tendents or visitors of the Kirk.' The simple faith thus quaintly expressed was until a period, by no means remote, one which was either universally held, or which at least few would have had the courage to attack. But before and after the passing of the English Education Act of 1870, and of the Scottish Act of 1872, a considerable number of Nonconformist politicians eagerly agitated for the entire exclusion of religious teaching or observance from State-aided schools. They first endeavoured to have it expressly excluded in the Acts, and having failed in that, they attempted to get School Boards elected who would voluntarily do what Parliament had declined to make compulsory. Both in England and in Scotland they failed in their second endeavour, almost as conclusively as in their first, and so strong is the current of popular opinion against the proposal, that it may now be looked upon as dead. Even the minority of the Commissioners do not recommend that the present liberty of religious teaching should be interfered with. The question now is not whether there shall be liberty to give religious teaching, but only as to its quality and the manner of imparting it. Thus the report tells us\* that in addition to a large number of voluntary schools, which exist for the express purpose of combining religious with secular instruction, there are 2,225 School Boards, representing the judgment of more than 16 millions of the population, of which only 7 in England and 50 in Wales have dispensed entirely with religious teaching or observances. In Scotland there is not, we believe, a single exception to the rule. Both countries having had the option given them of no religious teaching in their schools, have emphatically declined the offer. Here, unfortunately, the resemblance ceases, for when the question arises what the religious teaching is to be, we find in Scotland—as a rule, the fertile home of theological strife—almost perfect peace and unanimity, while in England, the different sects and churches are at open war, and plunged in vigorous hostilities. The primary reason of this is not far to seek. It is certainly not

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\* Page 113.

because Scotland is less rich in sects and contending churches than her sister country, or that her citizens are less tenacious in holding what they consider sound doctrine. On the contrary, there is probably no nation in the world who, often in the face of bitter persecution, have clung more resolutely to what they considered the true theology, or the correct form of church government. It is probable that they have rather erred in the opposite direction, and have sometimes made of terrible importance, matters of small moment. But on the question of religious teaching, they are almost unanimous. Much as they differ on forms of church government, they are agreed on the subject of theological dogma, and adopt the Shorter Catechism as the correct expression of their faith. The consequence is that the teaching of the Shorter Catechism in addition to the Bible, is almost universal in Board schools. It is probable that all the churches in Scotland, with the exception perhaps of the Episcopal and Roman Catholic, are satisfied with this arrangement. But in the case of the former, the number of their children who care to attend Board schools, is very small; and when they have no school of their own, they appear sensible enough to admit that instruction in a catechism, differing very little from their own articles of belief, cannot do much harm, while the Roman Catholics have been appeased by the facility with which the Education Department, taking advantage of a power given in section 67 of the Scottish Act, have allowed grants to schools belonging to their denomination, even though the school accommodation may have been sufficient without them.\*

In England, on the contrary, the battle of sects is still going on. The laws as well as the creeds of the two countries are entirely different. In Scotland, by the Act of 1872, a School Board may give either any kind of religious instruction or none, as they think proper; but if given, it must be at the beginning or end of the other instruction, so that children who object may easily stay away. In England, by the Act of 1870,

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\* Roman Catholic schools, in receipt of Parliamentary grant have increased in Scotland from 22 in 1872, to 154 in 1886. .

there is the same protection for objecting children as to the hours of religious instruction, but the Board, instead of being at liberty to give what religious instruction they think proper, are expressly prohibited from teaching any 'religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination.' Even if a large majority of the nation, therefore, were agreed upon a catechism, as in Scotland, it would be impossible to teach it in Board schools. How far religious teaching may be carried in England under the present Acts, is well exemplified by the regulations of the London School Board, which have been adopted by many other Boards. They direct that 'the Bible shall be read, and there shall be given such explanations and such instruction therefrom in the principles of morality and religion as are suited to the capacities of children, provided that in such explanations and instruction, the provisions of the Act be strictly observed both in letter and spirit, and that no attempt be made to attach children to any particular denomination.' The regulations also permit the offering of prayer and the use of hymns, subject to the same proviso as to the observance of the letter and spirit of the Act. To the non-sectarian mind it would seem at first sight that nothing could be more desirable than this arrangement. That the Bible should be read and explained, and prayer offered without any denominational teaching, seems almost an ideal state of perfection, and much more calculated to benefit the youthful mind than the dreary dogmatism of either the Shorter Catechism or the 39 Articles. That a child should learn the story of the Bible and grasp its meaning with the assistance of simple explanation, given in the interest of no particular sect or party, seems infinitely preferable to puzzling its brains with the mysteries of predestination or of original sin. Yet the fact remains that this simple form of religious teaching appears to please no one, and all parties alike seem to view it with suspicion and distrust. Even the minority of the Commission, who may be taken as representing the Nonconformist party, recommend the increase of voluntary schools in cases where 'there is a reasonable number of persons desiring such a school for whose children no sufficient provision exists, regard being



had to the religious belief of their parents.' The fact is, it appears almost impossible for anyone to give religious instruction without betraying a leniency to some particular church or party. The different doctrines of the different sects are so sharply defined and so well-known that probably no intelligent listener could hear a teacher 'explain' a single verse of the New Testament without having a good idea what his theological opinions were, just as a single glance inside a church in England is sufficient to inform an experienced visitor that the incumbent is 'High,' 'Low,' or 'Broad,' as the case may be. Even if the teacher confines himself to religious 'observances,' he will be condemned by the Nonconformist party if he select a prayer from the prayer-book, and censured by the Church party if he elect to trust to his own invention. His very hymn-book will furnish sufficient proof of his opinions to the highly-trained ecclesiastical mind.

Perhaps it is for this reason that various School Boards, while permitting the reading of the Bible, do not allow any comment or explanation, as being contrary to the Act, and this appears to be the opinion of the minority, who report (p. 244) as follows: 'We dissent from the statement [of the majority] that the 14th section of the Act of 1870 merely provided for perfect neutrality among Christian denominations. Jews, free-thinkers, and any other persons who refuse to entrust the religious teaching of their children to others, are all equally entitled, both under section 14 and under section 7, to a perfect exemption from any instruction in religious subjects.' If this view be correct, it is obviously impossible to do more than read the Bible as an ordinary book of history. How could it be 'explained' in such a manner as to be acceptable both to a Jew and to a Christian? Indeed, it may be argued that a free-thinker would be entitled to object to its being read at all. It must be observed, however, that the London and other School Boards do not hold this opinion, and rather agree with the majority of the Commission. Yet a profound distrust of the religious teaching given in Board schools remains evident throughout the country, and this is shown by the increase of voluntary schools. Thus the number of children for whom

accommodation is provided in voluntary schools, has risen from 1,878,000 in 1870 to 3,417,000 in 1886, being an increase of 1,539,000; while Board schools, which of course did not exist before 1870, had in 1886 accommodation for 1,750,000.\* Voluntary schools, therefore, though they started 1,878,000 ahead of Board schools, have increased almost as rapidly.

Of the 1,878,000 voluntary school places existing in 1870, it is estimated that 1,165,000 were in Church of England schools; and of the 3,417,000 places now supplied, 2,549,000 are in schools of that denomination, leaving 868,000 to be distributed among the Roman Catholic, Wesleyan, 'British,' and other undenominational schools. These figures forcibly illustrate the power and influence of the Church of England, showing as they do that in this competition she wins by about three to one against all other competitors combined. In short, of voluntary school accommodation about 75 per cent. belongs to the Church of England.

It is interesting to compare this great increase of voluntary schools in England since the passing of the Education Act with their steady decrease since the same event in Scotland. There voluntary or denominational schools, with the exception of the few belonging to the Roman Catholic and Episcopal churches, have disappeared with extraordinary rapidity, as the following table† shows:—

	1872.	1887.
Board schools, - - - -	(none)	2,582
Church of Scotland (including the schools established by statute), - -	1,311	85
Free Church schools, - - -	523	25
Episcopal schools, - - -	46	73
Roman Catholic schools, - -	22	155

Thus the Church of Scotland and Free Church schools have almost vanished, while the Episcopal shew a slight and the Roman Catholic a considerable increase. This, as has been

\* p. 253 of the Report.

† *Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland 1887-8*, p. xi.

said, proceeds from the fact that Board are, so far as religious teaching goes, the same as Church of Scotland or Free Church schools, and the Roman Catholics are the only denomination who seriously object to the teaching there given. There is also this leading difference between the two Acts, that in Scotland a School Board was necessarily established in every parish and had the existing parish schools transferred to it, whereas in England, the people had the option of avoiding a School Board, if they voluntarily gave a sufficient school supply. This of course was an incentive to the different denominations, and especially to the Church of England, to increase their schools.

The recommendations of the Commissioners on the religious question have been looked forward to with much interest, representing as they do the opinions of all classes and all parties. It would perhaps have been absurd to expect unanimity, and it has certainly not been obtained. The majority consisting of Lord Cross, Cardinal Manning, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Harrowby, Earl Beauchamp, the Bishop of London, Lord Norton, Sir Francis Sandford, Dr. Rigg, Canon Gregory, Rev. Thomas Morse, Mr. Alderson, Mr. Talbot, and Mr. Rathbone, make the somewhat unexpected proposal that voluntary schools should like Board schools be assisted out of local rates; while the minority consisting of the Hon. E. Lyulph Stanley, Sir John Lubbock, Sir Bernhard Samuelson, Dr. Dale, Mr. Buxton, Mr. Heller, Mr. Richard, and Mr. Shipton, consider such a proposal to be 'unsound in principle, destructive of the settlement of 1870, and certain if it became law to embitter educational politics, and intensify sectarian rivalries' (p. 246). Archdeacon Smith, who is one of the majority on other points, disapproves of this suggestion chiefly on the ground that the ratepayers would have a right to share in the management of rate-aided voluntary schools, which would consequently lose their present freedom of action. He also points out that the proposal would involve levying a school rate in more than 10,000 parishes which at present have no School Board, and that such a demand would strike a death-blow at the subscriptions by which voluntary schools are now maintained. Mr. Patrick Cumin, the

Secretary of the Education Department, who favours the recommendation, so far agrees with Archdeacon Smith as to its effect, for he states in his evidence that if it were adopted, five years would, in his opinion, 'see the end of all voluntary schools.' This is certainly not the consummation wished for by the majority who recommend the change, but whether Mr. Cumin be right or not in his prophecy, it is enough to say that for the present at any rate, the proposal is not within the range of practical politics. The storm which raged round Mr. Forster in 1870, would be aroused tenfold at what would be called a proposal to endow different denominations at the expense of the State, and no Government is likely to raise such an attack if it can possibly avoid it. Indeed, the Vice-President of the Council stated in Parliament last November that the Government have no such intention.

The minority, on the other hand, are in favour rather of an increase, both of Board and voluntary schools, recommending that 'where there is a reasonable number of persons desiring them, there should be schools of an undenominational character, and under popular representative management,' and also that 'persons desirous of starting a voluntary school be admitted to the receipt of annual grants on their satisfying the Education Department that there is a reasonable number of persons desiring such a school, "for whose children no sufficient provision exists, regard being had to the religious belief of their parents;"'—the last words being taken from the Scottish Act. It is probable that the recommendation for greater facility in establishing voluntary schools, which is approved both by the majority and minority, will be carried out, but the difficulty remains, that if you permit both Board and voluntary schools to increase without check, you are to a great extent wasting public money, by encouraging an excessive and therefore useless supply of schools and teachers. In Scotland, as has been shewn, the Board schools have practically killed the voluntary, with the exception of the trifling fraction belonging to the Roman Catholics; whereas, in England, the race between the two has been wonderfully equal, and bids fair to go on with increasing ardour and

increasing waste of labour and of money, not to mention increasing bitterness of sectarian feeling. The Commissioners and everyone else are of opinion that something should be done to meet this difficulty, but are greatly at variance as to what the remedy is to be. The Commissioners do not seem to have considered one plan, which is at all events worth discussion. Why not introduce the Scottish system into England? That could be done by simply repealing the fourteenth section of the Act of 1870—known as the ‘Cowper-Temple clause’ from the name of its proposer—which provides that ‘no religious catechism or religious formulary, which is distinctive of any particular denomination,’ shall be taught in Board schools. The result would be that in England as in Scotland a School Board could give any religious teaching they thought proper. The proposal is entitled to some consideration, because it is in accordance with Mr. Forster’s original intention, and his Bill was introduced into Parliament without this celebrated clause, which was only adopted after considerable discussion. If it were now repealed, it is almost certain that School Boards would be elected pledged to give in schools the religious teaching most acceptable to a majority of the ratepayers. Is there any hardship in this? A ratepayer who objects can do his best, assisted by the enormous power given to minorities by the cumulative vote, to get his own representative elected. Failing in that, he has only, in virtue of the conscience clause, to direct his child to stay away during religious teaching, if he objects to it. It is a much greater hardship that a large majority who want religious teaching are to be prohibited from getting it, unless there happen to be an adjacent voluntary school. The result of such legislation would be, that probably in a large majority of Board schools, the Church of England catechism would be taught. But if the children of the minority are not compelled to attend, is there any hardship in the children of the majority obtaining the religious teaching which their parents desire? The Nonconformists in England would be placed in exactly the position that the Episcopalians and Roman Catholics in Scotland now hold, and if an injustice would thereby be done in the south, that identical wrong is being at present perpetrated

in the north, without a word of remonstrance from any class of politician. The English radical who might denounce this proposal as a form of religious endowment by the State, could not possibly be joined in his opposition by his northern brother, who would be obliged to confess that in Scotland the system gives absolute satisfaction, and that no candidate for a Scottish constituency would dare to propose that the Shorter Catechism be excluded by the State from Board schools. It would be interesting to see certain politicians tossed upon the horns of this dilemma.

It seems to us a great misfortune that Mr. Forster did not stick to his original proposal, for it would have been a very much easier matter then than now, owing to the large increase that has taken place in voluntary schools. As we have seen, the number of children for whom accommodation is provided in voluntary schools, has increased since 1870 by no less than a million and a half, which of course represents an enormous increase in school buildings, and if Board schools were to take their place, these buildings would become useless, unless they could be transferred to the School Boards, an arrangement the terms of which are always difficult to settle. This difficulty, however, is not insurmountable and ought certainly to be overcome, if the question would thereby be settled as satisfactorily as in Scotland. Apart from the religious question, it is undoubtedly better to have the education of the whole country entrusted to public Boards rather than in private hands. The impression left upon the mind after reading the Report and parts of the evidence, is that the people of England are eager to have religious teaching of some kind in their schools, and are not particular as to which denomination, if any, such teaching may favour. Thus, Church of England, Roman Catholic, and Wesleyan school teachers, have all given evidence that children, whose parents were of a different denomination from that of the school, have yet not been withdrawn from their religious teaching. From this a minority of the Commissioners draw the conclusion that the conscience clause is 'wholly ineffective,' (p. 384), and in proof of this they argue that if not, it would surely be impossible, for instance, for a Baptist parent to send his child to a school where he is taught that by baptism an infant is 'made a member of Christ, a child of God,



and an inheritor of the Kingdom of Heaven.' But is the explanation not rather to be found in the fact that the working and middle classes have more sense and judgment than their ecclesiastical or political leaders, and that they do not attach the same immense importance to theological differences of opinion, or to the comparative merits of different forms of Church government? A parent not belonging to the exalted ranks, in which these points are deemed of such moment, thinks it possible that there may be some good in a Christian denomination differing from his own, and does not consider it a very terrible calamity that his child should receive some theories regarding, for instance, baptism or the power and position of the priesthood, which he cannot altogether endorse. He is wise enough to know that his child of less than fourteen years will trouble its head very little about such subtle speculations, and that however much it may be instructed either in the advantages or disadvantages of, say, infant baptism, it will probably remember little, and care less, about the whole question, and that if it adopt any fixed opinions at all upon the subject, they will be those which it hears at home or in the church or Sunday school which its parents may select for it. As regards the child who attends neither church nor Sunday school, and who hears nothing of religion at home, the parent is generally quite indifferent as to whether it receive any religious instruction or none, and in such a case, the fairest arrangement seems to be that it should at school receive instruction in the religion most acceptable to a majority of the ratepayers.

The indifference of the people of England to the minute points of denominational doctrine is a refreshing contrast to the bitter and uncharitable importance so often assigned to them, especially when accompanied as it is by a fixed determination to have Christian teaching of some kind. On this last point the Commission speak strongly both for themselves and for the public. They report (p. 113) that 'Whilst differing widely in our views concerning religious truth, we are persuaded that the only safe foundation on which to construct a theory of morals, or to secure high moral conduct, is the religion which our Lord Jesus Christ has taught the world. As we look to the Bible for instruction concerning morals, and take its words for the declaration of what

is morality, so we look to the same inspired source for the sanction by which men may be led to practise what is there taught, and for instruction concerning the help by which they may be enabled to do what they have learned to be right.' Such is the language of the Commission, speaking not only for themselves but for what they believe to be the almost unanimous feeling of the country. If that be so, is there any justifiable reason for reducing the religious teaching of Board schools to a minimum, which is almost vanishing point? If in 1888, as in 1587, the people still cling to the belief that 'it is tinsel baith of their bodies and souls if God's word be not ruted' in their children, why in the name of charity and common sense are they not to have what they so eagerly desire? Those who object are an infinitesimal fraction of the population, and it is simple oppression of the most bare-faced description to prevent an enormous majority from obtaining for their children that instruction which they value more highly than any other, in deference to the wishes of an insignificant minority, who, with the exception of a few religious bigots, object only in theory, and in practice, are glad to have the teaching which, as a matter of politics, they condemn.

J. EDWARD GRAHAM.

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#### ART. VI.—THE LAST RESTING PLACE OF ST. ANDREW.

**A**LTHOUGH a Neapolitan would probably not relish the remark, there would be a good deal to be said for the proposition that the Gulf of Salerno is even more beautiful than the Bay of Naples. The best views of the Bay of Naples are certainly those from the land, where the spectator is surrounded by the exquisite vegetation which forms so delightful a feature in that enchanting region. But the outlines of the land itself are seldom striking, and even the immense cone of Vesuvius is not picturesque in form; while the lovely colour of the sea and atmosphere are liable in the winter and spring to be blighted by the cold winds of the North. On the other side of the peninsula

of Sorrento the view lies open only to the South. The sea is protected from the blasts of the North, and the land-locked appearance so admired by the Neapolitans is more than compensated for by the unbroken expanse of sunlit sea which stretches away beyond the Isles of the Syrens until the tint of its blue waters melts through phases of silver mist into the blue of the Southern sky. The softer vegetation of the shores of the Bay here gives place to wilder and more natural though scantier woods, mostly found in the glens; and instead of the rounded hills of the more northern gulf, the traveller gazes with a wonder and admiration not unmingled with awe upon the tremendous precipices, hollowed out repeatedly into huge caverns, which rise from the very shore and hang beetling over the road cut in their sides. It is about the point where this grandeur of nature is most striking, that the ancient city of Amalfi, gathered into the mouth of a glen, stands between the mountains and the sea. It is difficult, in entering the dirty little town, to realize that this was once one of the great maritime powers of the world. To the historian its past greatness must always invest it with extraordinary interest. To the Scottish tourist, however, it possesses a special and national feature of attraction in the fact that its Cathedral covers the last resting-place of the Patron-Saint of his country.

This is not one of those identifications which, like that of the so-called ashes of the Baptist at Genoa, become almost inevitably the subject of the more or less respectful scepticism of the antiquary. The history of the bones of the Apostle is well known. They remained in their grave at Patras in the Peloponnesos, where they had been laid by Maximilla when they were taken down from the cross, until the time of the Emperor Constantine. That they were among those bodies of Christian heroes which were gathered by him to shed lustre upon the churches of his new capital appears from a curious passage in Jerome's *Book against Vigilantius*.\* 'He complains,' says the eminent Scriptural scholar, 'he complains that the reliques of the martyrs should be covered with a costly veil, instead of being wrapped in stuff or sackcloth or thrown on to the dunghill, so that nothing should be

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\* S. Hieronymi Opera Omnia. Tom. II. Part I. p. 391, Venice, 1767.

worshipped except the drunken and drowsy Vigilantius. Are we then guilty of sacrilege when we enter the churches of the Apostles? Was the Emperor Constantine I. guilty of a sacrilege when he brought to Constantinople the holy reliques of Andrew, Luke and Timothy, whereat the very devils who possess Vigilantius himself do roar and acknowledge their presence? The spot of the tomb, as in the Church of the Apostles, is indicated by the fact that it was for this reason that the sepulchre of Constantine himself was prepared in this place, a fact incidentally recorded by Chrysostom. 'Tell me then,' exclaims the golden-mouthed orator,\* 'wilt thou dare to say that their Lord is dead, whose very servants, even when they are dead themselves, are the Patrons of the Monarchs of the whole world? And this is a thing which one may see, not at Rome only, but also at Constantinople; for here also did the son of the Great Constantine think to do him vast honour by burying him in the vestibule of the Fisherman.'

It was during the sojourn of the remains of the Apostle at Constantinople that they underwent a mutilation which, according to the plausible conjecture of Dr. Skene, was the remote cause of the national position which the Galilean Fisherman now occupies among us. When Gregory the Great returned in 584 from discharging the duty of Aprocrisarius at the court of Tiberius II., he brought with him to Rome an arm of St. Andrew, which the Emperor had given him, and placed it in the monastery of St. Andrew which he had erected upon the site of his ancestral home.† From this it may be conjectured were taken the reliques brought to England by Augustine, a monk of the same monastery, and in honour of which his Royal convert Ethelbert erected the church of St. Andrew at Rochester. Thence again may well have been derived the reliques which were placed in the Church of Hexham, and these are the same which, according to the theory of the present Historiographer Royal,‡ were presented to Angus,

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\* Hom. xxvi. On 2 Cor.

† Alban Butler. March 12.

‡ Celtic Scotland. II. 261-275. *Venerabilis Bedæ Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*. II. 3. V. 20, and the appended chronicle, *sub anno* 731. The fact that the reliques which were received by Angus, and in honour of

King of the Picts, by Acca the Bishop, after his expulsion from his See in 731.

After the sack of Constantinople in 1204, when the Crusaders had more or less glutted their rapacity upon the more intrinsically valuable possessions of the inhabitants, it occurred to some of them whose tastes were of an ecclesiastical character to send to their own countries some of the mortal remains of the Saints which reposed in the Churches of the Imperial City. The Papal Legate, Cardinal Peter Capuano, who was a member of a noble family of Amalfi, made a very large collection of this kind, including the entire bodies of the Apostle Andrew, those of the brother physicians Cosmas and Damian, and of the lad Vitus, who had suffered martyrdom under the persecution of Diocletian, and that of the Egyptian hermit Macarius, who had died in the desert of Scete in the year 390, along with a great number of skulls, separate limbs, and other things of the same kind. He arrived at Gaeta with these reliques towards the end of March, 1206. There he presented to the Hospital the head of the Martyr Theodore. Other portions he gave to Naples and other places, including the head of the Apostle James the Less to Sorrento, and the arm of the Great Athanasius to Monte Cassino, but the great bulk of his store, including the four entire bodies, he re-

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which he changed the name of Kilrighmonaigh to that of St. Andrews, and proclaimed the Apostle Patron of his Kingdom, consisted of three fingers (probably finger-bones) and a fragment of an arm, is certainly in favour of the derivation from the arm brought by Gregory to Rome. There are also said to have been a knee-pan and a tooth, which may have been the additions of subsequent and less critical times. Most of the arm brought by Gregory seems to be still at Rome, where the monastery of St. Andrew is now called that of *San Gregorio*, but a part was given by Pius II. to the Church of *San Spirito in Sassia*. In Italy, the Churches of Milan, Nola, and Brescia all claim to possess small fragments of the body of the Apostle. There is a very small portion of the remains at Patras, presumably brought from Constantinople. The *Petits Bollandistes* (Nov. 30.) mention several particles in France, but do not say whether they profess to have come from Constantinople, Rome, or Amalfi. They include an arm-bone, at Paris. The considerable piece of bone now in Edinburgh was brought from Amalfi a few years ago. The so-called head at Rome will be discussed in another foot-note.

worshipped except the drunken and drowsy Vigilantius. Are we then guilty of sacrilege when we enter the churches of the Apostles? Was the Emperor Constantine I. guilty of a sacrilege when he brought to Constantinople the holy reliques of Andrew, Luke and Timothy, whereat the very devils who possess Vigilantius himself do roar and acknowledge their presence? The spot of the tomb, as in the Church of the Apostles, is indicated by the fact that it was for this reason that the sepulchre of Constantine himself was prepared in this place, a fact incidentally recorded by Chrysostom. 'Tell me then,' exclaims the golden-mouthed orator,\* 'wilt thou dare to say that their Lord is dead, whose very servants, even when they are dead themselves, are the Patrons of the Monarchs of the whole world? And this is a thing which one may see, not at Rome only, but also at Constantinople; for here also did the son of the Great Constantine think to do him vast honour by burying him in the vestibule of the Fisherman.'

It was during the sojourn of the remains of the Apostle at Constantinople that they underwent a mutilation which, according to the plausible conjecture of Dr. Skene, was the remote cause of the national position which the Galilean Fisherman now occupies among us. When Gregory the Great returned in 584 from discharging the duty of Aprocrisarius at the court of Tiberius II., he brought with him to Rome an arm of St. Andrew, which the Emperor had given him, and placed it in the monastery of St. Andrew which he had erected upon the site of his ancestral home.† From this it may be conjectured were taken the reliques brought to England by Augustine, a monk of the same monastery, and in honour of which his Royal convert Ethelbert erected the church of St. Andrew at Rochester. Thence again may well have been derived the reliques which were placed in the Church of Hexham, and these are the same which, according to the theory of the present Historiographer Royal,‡ were presented to Angus,

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\* Hom. xxvi. On 2 Cor.

† Alban Butler. March 12.

‡ *Celtic Scotland*. II. 261-275. *Venerabilis Bedæ Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*. II. 3. V. 20, and the appended chronicle, *sub anno* 731. The fact that the reliques which were received by Angus, and in honour of



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served for the Cathedral of his native city 'wherein he had received his first Christian nourishment and his first clerical tonsure.' There they still remain. The body of the Galilean Fisherman was brought into the Cathedral of Amalfi on the 8th of May, 1208; and a curious contemporary account of the event is still in existence, which it is worth while here to quote—

'In the year of the Incarnation of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and eight, upon the eighth day of the month of May, of the Eleventh Indiction, during the preceding night the sacred body was venerated by all men in the honourable place in which it had been kept, with watching, and tapers, and smoke of divers perfumes, since none of the citizens believed that the worth of the Apostle would avail him unless he took part in this waking. When day broke, the whole city shone in a garland of new and various decorations, besprinkled with flowers, and clad in stuffs of divers colours. A countless multitude of both sexes go forth with songs of joy and lighted tapers to meet the holy body. The aforesaid Cardinal, with the Archbishop and the Bishops of the province, come forward with bare feet and rest the sacred load upon their shoulders. The members of the ecclesiastical orders go before, Catholic noblemen, Bishops, abbots, monks and clerks, singing aloud for joy, and behind them follow the multitude of the people with shouting. And so they carry [the body of the Apostle] to the church dedicated in his name. There the same Cardinal from the pulpit of the same church having courteously commanded silence, preached the Word of God unto the people. He fired the multitude with devotion toward the Apostle, that they might surround his body with the service of veneration which is due to it, that they might assemble in unwearied prayer around it, that they might beseech it by their works and honour it by the worthiness of their lives. Then he opened the silver coffin wherein the remains of the sacred body were enclosed, and reverently showed to the eyes of all men the head and other bones, so that all might see and believe that God had visited His people through the power of His blessed Apostle Andrew, who had chosen to himself a dwelling-place in Amalfi,' etc.\*

After this the reliques seem to have been taken down into the crypt, in charge only of a few monks of advanced years, and the public saw them no more. Neither was any shrine erected to

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\* See the *Memorie Storico-Diplomatiche dell' antica Città e Ducato di Amalfi*, per Matteo Camera. (Salerno. Stabilimento Tipografico Nazionale. 1876.) The writer begs to express his indebtedness to this most learned and valuable work for nearly all the historical matter contained in the present article, so far as it concerns Amalfi.

mark their place. Only eight years after, in the year 1216,

Honorius III., as we learn from the Amalfitan record, 'having obtained the dignity of the Apostolic See, and being poor in spirit but rich in grace, and enkindled with a devotion toward the blessed Apostle Andrew, sent an Apostolic Command with messengers to the Archbishop John [Capuano, brother to the Cardinal Peter], that there might be sent to him some honourable portion of the Apostle aforesaid which lay in his Church, since he was very wishful to build a Church in his honour. But since it had been God's Will that the monks (*virī Religiosi*) who had put the holy reliques in the bottom of the said crypt (*confessio*) should be taken away, (*sublati de medio*) and the place wherein the body of the Apostle was shut up was known to no man, he was not able to get that which he sought, and could not obtain that which he commanded.'

The fact was, that, as afterwards appeared, the reliques were divided into two portions, and buried in separate places, the more important, as including the skull, being placed in the more recondite position, where the chance of its discovery was the least. There can be little doubt that the motive of this curious policy was to protect the Church of Amalfi from the chance of being deprived of its sacred deposit. It is probable enough, as has been conjectured, that Cardinal Peter Capuano himself was not without apprehensions that the new Latin dynasty which had been established upon the throne of the Cæsars might take effective measures to have the body of the Apostle sent back to its grave at Constantinople. But the precaution was anyhow justified by the results, when it enabled the Amalfitan Church to elude the commands of the Pope himself in 1216.

In the beginning of the Fourteenth Century the less important portion of the body (the portion, that is, which did not include the skull) was found in the silver coffin in which the whole had been displayed to the public by Cardinal Capuano, buried at the bottom of a pit nine palms (nearly seven feet) deep, sunk in the floor of the crypt, directly underneath the High Altar in the Cathedral above. The reason of the position is obvious. It is found in the words of Rev. vi., 9, 10, 11—'And when He had opened the Fifth Seal, I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the Word of God, and for the testimony which they held; and they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, Holy and True, dost Thou not judge and avenge

our blood on them that dwell on the earth? And white robes were given unto every one of them; and it was said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little season, until their fellow-servants also and their brethren, that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled.' In this spot the remains in their silver case were allowed to rest, and have since been suffered to remain, to this present day; but since their discovery in this position there has been no further attempt to cast uncertainty upon the exact place, and the mouth of the pit in which they lie has always formed, as it does to-day, the centre of all the public veneration which gathers around the grave of the brother of Peter. The other portion of the body, that, namely, which included the head, remained for a much longer time concealed from sight and knowledge. It was not till Jan. 2, 1603, that in the course of the works for the restoration of the crypt conducted by Scipio Cretella of Cilento under the commands and at the cost of Philip III. of Spain, another pit of the same depth was discovered to the west of the first. At the bottom of this was a white marble cist, the inscription upon which testified that it enclosed part of the body of the Apostle. On examination, it was found to contain the skull and the rest of the missing portion of the other bones. A notarial instrument was drawn up attesting the facts, one copy of which was placed in the cist, and another in the archives of the See. The cist itself was transferred to the same pit with the other remains. On Jan. 29, 1846, the deposit was again examined; and on this occasion the skull was brought up into the crypt and placed permanently in a reliquary of silver and glass, the rest of the bones were re-united in the old silver coffin which had so many centuries before already enclosed them all, and the marble cist was built into the wall of the southern staircase leading to the crypt.

The Cathedral which now stands over the grave of St. Andrew is a building of different epochs, and presents the traces of a singular number of vicissitudes and changes. Putting aside the cloister or cemetery, called the *Paradiso*, which dates from the Thirteenth Century, and the great detached campanile or bell-tower, which was finished about the same time, and both of which may be called external to the building itself, the Cathedral

proper consists of two distinct churches. The older and smaller of these is dedicated in honour of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, and seems to be of an unknown date. It had an aisle or chapel on the north, and on the south another aisle or series of private chapels belonging to great families of the Amalfitan Republic. The later and larger church, dedicated in honour of the Apostle Andrew, is built immediately to the south of and against the older building, into which it opens, and both are as it were bound together by one vast porch or narthex which runs along the front of both. This later church owes its existence to the Doge Manso III., a prince who seems to have had ecclesiastical tastes, as it was also under his government that the See was raised to the rank of an Archbishopric. It was begun towards the year 980, a period remarkable in Italy for the erection of great buildings of this sort, St. Mark's at Venice having been begun in 977.

The East end of this building seems to have been pulled down and re-erected on a more splendid plan by the munificent Cardinal Capuano in the year 1203. The record states that he 're-constructed the church in a fair and larger form,' and in a document dated Oct. 11, 1208, (five months after the arrival of the body of the Apostle), it is remarked that he had 're-constructed the Altar and crypt (*titulum et confessionem*).'<sup>\*</sup> It may be conjectured that these re-constructions by Capuano were so extensive as to admit of the Cathedral's being regarded as a new building, and consecrated anew, but this time under the name of St. Andrew, after the arrival of the reliques of the latter.\* To Capuano was therefore owing the then magnificent arrangement of the High Altar, which stood in the open, underneath what would, in one of our Northern churches, be the lantern. The Altar itself was built of precious marbles and mosaics, and was placed under a baldaquin of the same materials, at the

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<sup>\*</sup> Signor Camera, in his *Istoria della Città e Costiera di Amalfi*, p. 33, seems to indicate that the Tenth Century Cathedral, if indeed it had ever been consecrated, had been dedicated in honour of the Baptist. The present writer has not succeeded in ascertaining the year of the consecration of the renewed and completed building. The anniversary of the event is kept yearly at Amalfi upon the Sunday which may fall nearest to Sept. 1.

corners of which were the emblems of the Four Evangelists. Under, that is to say, apparently, within the altar, were deposited the remains of the other Saints. There were also two splendid ambones, of the like materials, the one upon the North side for the Gospel, and the other upon the South for the Epistle. The Archiepiscopal throne, in the midst of an accompanying semi-circular synthronos for the Priests, all of marble, was placed against the inner wall of the apse; and there can be no doubt that the whole work was completed with inlaid pavements and balustrades in harmony. To the munificence of the same Capuano, after the arrival of the Apostle's body, seem to have been owing the beautiful mosaics with which the apse is known to have been adorned, and which represented Christ above, and beneath, the Saints Andrew, Cosmas Damian, Vitus, and Macarius, divided by palm-trees. To Capuano likewise is ascribed the noble narthex. No great alteration appears to have been made from the beginning of the Thirteenth Century till the close of the Sixteenth, when Philip II. of Spain, thinking the crypt and the altar therein somewhat 'rough' (*rudis*) determined to decorate it in the most costly manner. The work was continued after his death, and completed in 1616. During the greater part of that century the Cathedral of Amalfi must have been in the zenith of its splendour. Nothing had been injured. The passage of time merely enriched the tints of its decorations, and added to the inestimable series of historical monuments with which it was enriched.

The decadence began in 1691. In that year the roof and walls of the nave and transepts of the great church were lowered, by which seems to be meant the destruction of the clerestory, and everything upon a line with it. The cause of this mutilation is unknown: the walls may have been considered no longer safe. The building must thus have been very much damaged, and possibly presented a more or less ruinous appearance which may have offered an inducement to the most disastrous transmogrification which it has ever undergone, viz., the so-called restoration by the Archbishop Michael Bologna, from the designs and under the direction of the architect, Peter Antony Sormano of Savona. This work was begun upon Nov. 12, 1703, and lasted fifteen



years. The succeeding pages will convey some idea of its character. Its main features were the destruction of all works of art and of all historical monuments, and the inauguration of an universal reign of plaster and whitewash, with a certain amount of excessively fine rococo inlaid marble work inserted at intervals as a sort of startling contrast. 'I have now' wrote the Archbishop to Pope Innocent XIII. 'completely brought the Cathedral Church into a noble and modern shape . . . The chapels were all completely built by me.'

In this condition it remained until within the last twenty years, when the local authorities set a movement on foot to attempt some restoration by public subscription. They employed as architect the cavaliere Henry Alvino of Naples. The platform was then restored, the narthex was practically re-built, and the façade again raised. It was evidently the intention of Alvino, had he been enabled to do so, again to raise the whole roof of the nave and transepts, and to build a new clerestory. The investigations which he began in the interior point likewise to a desire to restore at least the great double marble arcades which Bologna built up inside rectangular piers. But Signor Alvino is dead. And nothing is being done now in the way of restoration save the continued manufacture of the large glass and gold mosaics which form part of his design for the completion of the façade.

Although the upper portions of the bell-tower and of the façade of the Cathedral are more or less visible from different points of view in approaching Amalfi, the traveller does not see the whole front until he finds himself in a small and irregular open space in the centre of the town—very dirty and noisy—which serves as a market-place. To the Scottish traveller the strangeness of the Southern sights and sounds all around form a curious contrast with the familiar type of the image of St. Andrew leaning on his cross, which rises in white marble over the public fountain, and greets the eye in various other representations on every hand. One side of this irregular square is occupied by the front of the Cathedral. Although small as compared with the immense fabrics to which the Northerner is accustomed to apply this name, it is handsomer than many which serve the same purpose in Italy. It is also made imposing by

the very great height of the artificial platform upon which it stands. This is in fact a block of building some thirty feet high, and in which a most splendid crypt might have been, and perhaps might still be, arranged, but which, with the exception of the Easternmost portion, is now either neglected or applied to secular purposes. This platform is pierced at long but regular intervals, first by a series of quatrefoils, and, above them, by small double windows, sharply pointed, each divided by a white marble shaft. The general tone of the whole façade is the sombre grey, black, and white combination of all the monumental buildings of this part of the world, and is also in the sort of nondescript striped architecture, partly Romanesque, partly Byzantine, partly Gothic, by which they are distinguished, and which is not wanting in a certain dignity, rather, perhaps, historical than artistic. The restoration, or rather the building, of the present façade and porch, although not by any means perfect, reflects credit both upon the energy of the people of Amalfi and upon the skill and taste of their architect, the cavaliere Alvino. The works were executed by public subscription, and under his plans and directions not many years ago, and are, in fact, not yet completed, as they still await the mosaics of glass and gold. Had this architect lived, it is probable that he might have succeeded in doing yet more for the unfortunate but interesting building placed, at least in part, in his hands. As it is, he hardly touched the interior, and the single place in which he removed the concealing plaster in search of the old work, has again been covered up.

To reach the Church the visitor first ascends a low landing-place raised on four steps, and then a very steep straight flight of no less than fifty-seven steps of grey stone. This flight is very broad and its sides centre with the two outer of the three open arches which form the middle of the long porch or narthex which stretches along the whole front of the building above. This narthex or porch was, as already stated, originally built by the Cardinal Peter Capuano at the beginning of the Thirteenth Century, but has been practically reconstructed by Signor Alvino. As the front of the Cathedral across which it stretches consists not only of the Cathedral of the Tenth Century

with its nave and two aisles, but also of that of the smaller and older Cathedral against which it is built on the North, with its chapels on either side, the ascending steps and the great open arches of the narthex to which they lead, and which centre with the newer building, are not in the middle, but considerably to the South of the middle, of the whole narthex. There is accordingly only one other large arch to the South but three such to the North, where there is also the beginning of a fourth, which rests against the bell tower. All these arches are filled in the lower part by a solid decorative parapet, and then by three-light open tracery, becoming much more elaborate above, in white marble. The centre arch of all, which directly faces the great West door of the Cathedral, is double in height, and is covered, along with the open arch on either side, by a sort of tympanum or flattened gable, inlaid in black and white.

Immediately above the roof of the narthex, the upper part of the older Cathedral appears on the North side in a state of white-wash, and low tile roof. The front of the newer Cathedral on the South presents the outline of a long row of interlaced pointed arches, all blind except one arch in the middle of the end of each aisle, which is pierced, so as to form a single pointed window. This outlined arcade must indicate either the traces of the past or the intentions of the future. Well raised above this series of arches is a bold string-course starting just under the commencement of the aisle-roof and crossing the whole building in one uninterrupted line. Resting on the string-course and still all beneath the level of the point where the aisle-roofs lean against the walls of the nave, is another tier of interlaced pointed arches, here pierced with a row of eleven considerable-sized pointed windows. A good way above this tier, quite clear of the aisle-roof, and stretching completely from side to side, is a third row of interlaced pointed arches, this time smaller, forming a set of twelve flat niches, separated from one another by pairs of white marble shafts. It is deplorable to have to record that these white marble shafts were procured by robbing the outside of the apse of the ruined but venerable Church of St. Eustace at Pontone—an act all the more inexcusable in Italy, where white marble abounds to such an extent that it could almost have been pro-

cured from any shop with less cost and trouble than it must have taken to dislodge these small columns from their place at Pontone and bring them to Amalfi. These twelve niches are to be filled with mosaic pictures of the Twelve Apostles, upon a gold ground, by Salviati, of Venice. Several of these pictures are already finished, though not put up. The walls now rise considerably higher before they end in the great tympanum or flattish gable which tops the façade. In this tympanum is to be placed another, but very large gold and glass mosaic by Salviati, representing a colossal bust of Christ, with seraphim on either side. When all these mosaics are finished and in their places, the effect cannot fail to be really more or less splendid, and the extreme brilliancy of the blue and gold stars of the roof of the narthex, which now rather offends the eye, will lead well up to the exceeding and increasing brightness, culminating at the top in the figure of the Saviour.

The bell-tower adjoins the Cathedral at the north-west angle. It was begun in the year 1180, but was not finished till 1276, when it was completed at the private expense of the Archbishop Philip Augustariccio. Structurally, it is entirely separate, and stands at a very different angle. This arrangement is no doubt a skilful device to increase the architectural effect, and the difference of angle is doubtless some tradition of the Greek science in this matter, of which the differing angles in the Puopylœa and the Parthenon of Athens offer a sublime example. The tower is, however, as already remarked, bound into the grasp of the Cathedral buildings by the fact that the under-platform and the narthex run on and rest against it. It consists of five storeys. The first rises to the level of the narthex, and is little more than a basement. The second has a window in each of the outer sides and a marble pillar inserted at each angle, thus carrying on the general design of the narthex. The third storey, which stands clear of the roof of the narthex, has large two-lighted, round-headed windows, almost Moorish in character, on each face. These are now walled up. The fourth storey has four still larger round-headed windows. They have been divided into two portions by a straight architrave, the lower separated into three lights by two marble columns,

and the upper containing a round light. These windows are now mostly walled up and partly concealed by the clock. This mutilation is wretched. A special tower adapted and designed for the purpose, ought, of course, to have been erected for the clock whenever it became convenient to provide the Cathedral with this appendage, and the walling up of the arches is a silly obstruction to the sound of the great bell, popularly called *La Distesa* on account of the distance at which her voice could be heard. *La Distesa* was presented along with completion of the tower, by Archbishop Augustariccio, and has twice since been recast, once by order of Archbishop Del Giudice about the year 1364, and again by Archbishop Rossini in 1597. The uppermost storey of the tower consists of five round turrets, a larger in the centre, with four smaller at the four angles, in much the same way as that in which are arranged the five turrets or spires upon the top of the tower of the Town Hall at Tain, in Ross-shire. These turrets are encased in interlaced pointed arches, and have a very Norman appearance. They and their roofs are now decorated in shining green and yellow tiles. The bell-tower has received a good deal of rococo tinkering and decoration, and no kind of restoration, and until something of the sort is bestowed upon it, it is impossible to form anything like a fair judgment upon it.

On entering the narthex the traveller finds it divided into two aisles, parallel to the front of the church, by a row of seven granite pillars, with white marble capitals, all quite new, and carved in a debased manner with foliage, dolphins, and the arms of the town, a bend.\* Directly in front are the great doors, enclosed in a marble doorway, and on either side the smaller marble doorways leading into the aisles. The great doors themselves are of bronze, and were made at Constantinople by Simeon of Syria, at the order and expense of Pantaleon, 'son of Maurus, son of

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\* The tinctures are not shown in the carving, unless the lines upon the bend are intended to indicate *gules*, which is the colour assigned to it by Signor Camera in his *Istoria della Città e Costiera di Amalfi*. p. 30. Upon the frontispiece of that work the field is indicated as *azure*. This imposition of colour upon colour is of course an outrage upon our accepted laws of blazonry, but those of Italian heraldry may be different.

Pantaleon, son of Maurus, son of Count Mauro,' in the middle of the Eleventh Century. They were the first work of the kind imported into Italy. They are not very elaborate in design. The central panels have figures inlaid in silver, but a good deal of the silver has been stolen.

Considerably to the North of the door of the North aisle is the graceful Renaissance doorway which leads into the older Cathedral. Passing this, and passing through the space which separates the bell-tower from the angle of the building, and turning sharp to the right, up a sort of open court, the stranger finds himself, after traversing about fifty feet, in the region of a small cloister, surrounded by the usual interlacing pointed arches supported upon twin shafts of white marble. In spring and summer this cloister derives a certain grace, not only from the remains of its antique architecture, but also from the beautiful foliage of the vines which grow on the rich and raised soil within it. Speaking generally, however, it has become the victim of neglect, alteration, and the all-pervading white-wash, though fortunately not apparently to such an extent as to make it incapable of a future restoration, at any rate in its general form. This cloister is the cemetery called the *Paradiso*, prepared by Archbishop Augustariccio for the burial of distinguished citizens of the Amalfitan Republic. The cemetery was built in two years, 1266-8, and the first person laid in it was the Archbishop's own brother, the judge John Augustariccio, who was a doctor of Medicine as well as of both Canon and Civil Law, and who died on Jan. 29, 1282. The terrible neglect and ill-usage to which this cemetery has been subjected have concealed or destroyed nearly every trace of the five chapels which once surrounded it\* and the monuments of great citizens which adorned it and them. The visitor is confronted at one spot by a sort of shrine or altar, the front of which is formed of the two sides of a marble sarcophagus split in two. These bear busts of the Twelve Apostles, but they also bear the arms of the Augustariccio family, and it has

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\* Two were dedicated in honour of our Lord's titles of 'Saviour' and 'Crucified,' and the three others respectively to St. Andrew the Apostle, St. Theodore the Martyr, and St. Mary Magdalen.



been conjectured that they may be the sides of the coffin which once contained the remains of the eminent lawyer and physician.

Returning to the front of the old Cathedral—that of the Assumption—and entering by its graceful Renaissance marble doorway, the visitor finds himself in a sort of mean vestibule of painted deal. This is the substructure of a corresponding West-end gallery, which supports a wretched little organ. This barrier past, we are in what of the old Church has been left to us by the ravages of Archbishop Bologna. The general effect of the whole interior is one of dirt, dinginess, and whitewash. The old Church now forms a single chamber, with an apse at the end, and a rounded ceiling. It has a pavement of worn encaustic tiles, but is otherwise a mere mass of plaster arranged in graceless forms, under which its original features are entirely hidden, and which is itself concealed under one uniform coat of whitewash. The entire length, from the door to the back of the apse, seems to be about 130 ft. On the chord of the apse is the Altar, a sufficiently handsome marble structure, with a really good reredos, brought hither from a suppressed convent, and containing pictures in panels. It is perhaps from two to three hundred years old. Before the Altar is the chancel, raised to the height of several feet, and separated from the rest of the Church by a really very handsome balustrade of carved and polished coloured marbles. It is furnished with valueless deal stalls, but in the walls above them on either side are cupboards for reliques, closed by very good Jacobean wooden shutters, painted white, picked out with gilding and with pictures in the panels.

The sides of this Church, from the balustrade to the West end, are divided into seven spaces, which, at least for the sake of convenience, may be called bays, especially as they answer to some of a corresponding number of similar spaces in the larger Church, to which the term more correctly applies. The extreme Western of these, on either side, are plain, and the next two are occupied by doors, that to the South leading towards the great Church, and that to the North into an apartment which will be spoken of presently. The next two are again plain, but in the Southern is hung a good Mediæval panel picture, with a gold ground, but sadly calling for restoration. The fourth or

central bays each contain in a square recess, defended by an inlaid marble balustrade, an inlaid marble altar, in the usual style of the last century. That on the South has behind it a good Renaissance picture. The next bay on the North is blank: that on the South is glazed with plate-glass, behind which and over an additional altar obtruded into the church, can be seen a couple of tasteless coloured statues, one of the Dead Body of Our Lord, nearly naked, and stretched on an offensively glaring gilded bier, the other of the Blessed Virgin, in which the theatrically agonized features and attitude form a ghastly and tasteless contrast with the meretricious richness of the black and gold embroideries in which she is made to appear as having studiously arrayed herself. These figures are publicly carried through the town of Amalfi on Good Friday evening. To the East of this come again two doorways: that on the North leads, or ought to lead, into the *Paradiso*; that on the South leads into the newer church. The last two bays are each occupied by a square recess, railed in in inlaid marble and containing a rococo altar of the same material. The Southern has no feature of interest, but behind the Northern, in a niche closed by a sheet of plate-glass, is a curious Mediæval wooden statue of the Blessed Virgin—perhaps Fourteenth Century—nearly if not quite life size. It has once been entirely gilded, picked out with colours, but time has now caused the whole to assume exactly the appearance of bronze.

The most interesting portion of this older church is what lies behind the door opening in the second bay on the North side. If the traveller can induce the sacristan to open this door for him, he will find himself in a curious chaos of dust and ruins, occupying the space of three bays, where it is stopped by the wall of the *Paradiso*. In the midst of the Northern wall is a beautiful small square window of perforated white marble opening into the way which leads to the *Paradiso*. The state of destruction, darkness, dust, and confusion, is such that nothing but a careful study could reveal the form of the real remains. There are columns, (at least one, double) of polished marble with classical capitals, and walls displaying the remains of antient frescoes, where the aureolæ round the heads of saints

stand out embossed upon the plaster. Brutally forced between the polished surfaces and gracious carvings of the marble pillars stand the beastly constructions of Archbishop Bologna. It is evident that this little nook is what remains of a North aisle to the older Church, into which it once opened by a free and graceful colonnade, and thus caused the whole building to present in the Middle Ages the splendid cross-perspective of two naves and four aisles, comprising five arcades of columns, of which at least three seem to have been double.

The next part of the Cathedral is that in which the devastation wrought by Archbishop Bologna is most undisguised. This is the space which separates the older from the newer Church. It formerly consisted of a series of private chapels belonging to great families of the Republic of Amalfi, and was filled with historical monuments. The two such chapels which are still extant, although in ruins, on the North side of the Basilica of St. Eustace, at Pontone, are placed one East of the other, and each consists of a single square vault and an apse. In the absence of proper investigations it is impossible to speak with certainty as to the plan of those at Amalfi. The conjecture is here hazarded that there were three, or perhaps four, such chapels, each consisting of at least one vault, and then perhaps an apse. The Westernmost *may* have been the Baptistry. In the case of the vaults, at least, the arches were open on each side, allowing access between the two churches. But the shapeless masses of Bologna's walls are said to enclose rows of marble columns, and it must be repeated that it is vain to plunge into conjecture without more light. The whole is now a singular mass of chaotic, dark, dusty, lumber-rooms, traversed by two passages. The first of these connects the second bays (counting from the West) of the older and newer Churches. At the Southern end of this passage—the end, that is, opening into the newer Church—may be seen in the wall above the doorway the distinct form of a pointed arch. In the sides of this passage may be also seen three marble sarcophagi. That to the South is Christian—seemingly Thirteenth Century. Those to the North are Pagan, good works of a late period. The subjects are stated to be the Marriage of Peleus and Thetis, and the Carrying-away of Koré.

They are said to have been brought from Pæstum, but there is such a habit in the Amalfitan part of the world of referring all classical works of art to Pæstum, just as there is of referring all Mediæval buildings to Queen Joanna or the Saracens, that such assertions must be received with great suspicion. They are, in any case, like those of a similar kind, happily less disturbed, at the Cathedral of Salerno, classical Pagan sarcophagi which have been applied in the Middle Ages to the burial of distinguished Christians.

The second, or Easternmost passage, which lies just East of a space divided into almost equal parts between the square back of a side-altar in the newer church and the receptacle of the Good Friday images, has two Thirteenth Century marble sarcophagi, one on each side. To the East of it is a dusty lumber-room, mainly used as a cellar for altar-wine, although the greater part of the whole space is occupied by the back of the square enclosure of another side-altar. On the North side of the East wall, however, are to be seen the remains of a Mediæval fresco. In the centre of this wall is a window, a false light on to the North stair leading down into the crypt which contains the grave of the Apostle, and which will be described hereafter.

The traveller now enters the newer Cathedral—that of the Tenth and Thirteenth Centuries—which is the most important portion of the whole group, and the crypt of which contains the shrine. It is of the regular form which is found in other corresponding churches of the same period and neighbourhood, *viz.*, a nave with an aisle upon each side, with a lantern and transepts, beyond which there originally were, not a chancel and chapels, but merely three apses, centring with the nave and aisles respectively. The general plan, therefore, is not that of a  $\text{+}$  but of a T. Although the word ‘lantern’ has been used above, there is no rise of roof at the point to which that term is usually applied: the ceiling of the chancel runs straight across—a very ugly feature which is found in other instances, such as the Cathedral and the Church of St. Antonino at Sorrento. The complete length from the great West door to the back of the apse must be about 190 feet.\* Of this the portion Westward of the transepts

\* This is a rough guess, from the fact that eight bays of the nave took

is divided by piers into 10 bays of about 15 ft. each. The nave has a breadth of about 35 ft.,\* and the aisles each of about 20 ft. The pavement which, West of the transepts, is entirely of marble, in grey and white checquers, broken here and there by an occasional tomb-stone in inlaid coloured and carved marbles, let into the floor, slopes rather steeply upwards from West to East, thus producing a sham perspective: but the writer was informed that there is no corresponding depression of the roof or contraction of the sides, as in the typical instance at Poitiers, to complete the effect of this rather base trick. From the roof are hung numerous antique Venice chandeliers in plain glass, while here and there, suspended high in the air above the grave of an Archbishop, appear the dusty and decaying remains of his broad-brimmed green hat and its tassels.

The great church excites more than any other part of the group of buildings to which it belongs, the combined feelings of regret for the past, and of indignation at the conduct of Archbishop Bologna, by which these precious works of art and the still more precious monuments of the history of the Amalfitan Republic, and of her noblest citizens, have been covered up or destroyed. The reason why these feelings are here most strongly aroused is probably that the whole which Bologna destroyed must here have been most imposing. At the present day the whole internal surface is hidden by plaster arranged in tasteless forms, and covered with an uniform coat of white-wash, with the exception of the painted and gilded ceiling, the sides of the pilasters towards the nave, and the apse. The ceiling is very handsome of its kind, large deep panels filled with paintings in the rococo sacred-heroic style, although there is on the woodwork a great deal too much of a crude and glaring green, heightened by the gilding, but which may not perhaps be of the time of Bologna himself. The carving of the ceiling—or rather, of the two ceilings, of the nave and transepts,—is by Francis Gori, of Sienna, the four paintings of the Martyrdom and Miraculous

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forty-two paces of the writer. He is obliged to give all the other measurements in the same way.

\* Twelve paces of the writer.

Help\* of the Apostle Andrew, by Andrew d'Asti, of Bagnoli, and the two in the transepts representing the Fishing of the sons of Jonas and of Zebedee in the Sea of Galilee, by Joseph Castellano, of Naples. Not far below the ceiling, across the West end of the nave, run the row of seven small lancet windows apparent in the façade also. At the East end it is closed by a flattish rounded arch resting upon two beautiful monoliths of Egyptian granite, which will be again mentioned presently. The piers which now separate the nave from the aisles are not square but oblong, not from East to West, but from North to South. The reason of this is said to be that each of them encloses two monolithic columns of polished marble, with carved capitals, and that these displeased the taste of Archbishop Bologna, who preferred rectangular piers, and accordingly so enveloped them. This would be almost incredible were it not that similar cases are or have been found in South Italy, as, for instance, in the Cathedral of Bari or the Church of St. Antonino at Sorrento. There seems in fact to have been at one time in the Kingdom of Naples a kind of insane epidemic passion for stucco and whitewash. The piers are whitewashed on the two sides and on the back towards the aisles, but the front towards the nave consists of a great pilaster with a gilded capital, veneered throughout with marble mosaic like the matter of a Florentine table, and each pilaster adorned with a beautiful medallion in carved white marble. The colours are dingy and the design bad, but the extraordinary preciousness of the material and the excellence of the handiwork give an effect of splendour which is imposing in its own way, and forms a singular contrast, in union with the floors, the balustrades, the altars, the reredos, and the ceiling, to the wilderness of whitewash around.

The form of the piers is, as already said, an oblong parallelogram. There is a pilaster on each side. Those on the side towards the nave are veneered with inlaid work of precious

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\* The occasion commemorated is the dispersal by a storm on June 27, 1544, of a Mohammedan fleet which was threatening the city. An annual thanksgiving for this deliverance, which was ascribed to the prayers of the Apostle, is still held in Amalfi.



marbles and support gilded Corinthian capitals, above which runs a very ugly, broad, and heavy straight cornice. Above this cornice again is a wilderness of stucco, divided into graceless rococo panels and simply whitewashed, and above this again a cornice containing a row of oblong lights somewhat in the position of a clerestory, which admit air and throw a strong light upon the ceiling, which is just above them. The side pilasters of the piers are much lower, and are united to each other by a series of round-headed arches in plaster, which run along well below the straight cornice supported by the gilded capitals. The Cavaliere Alvino pulled down one of these round arches, that, viz., in the Westernmost bay on the North side, just opposite the Baptistry. He is said to have found a pointed arch executed in brick, and hence it is conjectured that there is a similar arcade on both sides, resting upon the ancient marble columns. But he died. No drawings were taken. The round plaster arch has been renewed; and it is therefore impossible to tell even the height of the concealed pillars.

The pilasters on the fourth side of the piers, towards the aisles, are high, and on them rest the series of groined vaults which form the roof of the aisles on each side, each groining corresponding exactly to one of the bays. The two aisles are exceedingly similar. Each has a door at the West end. Each consists of nine bays, ending Eastward by three marble steps rising towards the transept, behind the tenth bay of the nave, which has been blocked, and which will be mentioned presently. Each aisle has a breadth of something over 20 ft.\* The lower part of the side of each towards the nave is, of course, composed of the series of pilasters and round-headed arches. The lower part on the outer side consists of nine divisions, of which five are occupied by recessed chapels, and the others by arches, some of which contain doorways. On the upper part appears on each side of each aisle a series of ugly panels in plaster, like blank windows. This gives the idea that above the arcade there must originally have been a triforium (or at least triforium arches, if without a passage), pierced completely through, that is, opening into the

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\* Seven paces of the writer.

nave on one side, and into the aisle on the other, as is the case, for instance, in the corresponding example of the Cathedral at Bari, where also these features have been concealed under plaster and whitewash; and that the outer wall must have consisted (as, for instance, in the Chapel Royal of Palermo or the Abbey of Monreale) of a lower portion of marble panelling or open arches (this last at Amalfi, at least on the North, to lead into the family chapels and older church), and above this, of a series of windows. The effect must have been remarkably light and graceful. The great consolation under present circumstances is the belief that most, if not all, of it remains hidden under the plaster and whitewash, and is awaiting a restoration in the future. The hideous oblong windows which now light the ceiling do not deserve the name of a clerestory. It has, however, been already mentioned that there appears to have been originally a clerestory properly so called, which was only pulled down in 1691, and that to rebuild it seems to have been part of the scheme of Signor Alvino, as his façade is a great deal higher than the present roof, and, where it *returns*, shows the beginning of a set of lancet windows.

The lower part of the present outer walls of the aisles is in no particular way remarkable. The first, third, fifth, seventh, and ninth bay on each side is occupied by a chapel in a square recess. With one exception these all have balustrades and altars of inlaid coloured marbles, which would be esteemed very rich and precious in almost any country but Italy, where such features are common. They have reredoses containing pictures, in the usual style, and are adorned with a few inoffensive funeral tablets and monuments. The exception is the Baptistry, which is the extreme North-West chapel. It has no altar. The font, which stands on steps in the middle, is an extraordinarily splendid colossal vase of red porphyry. It is obviously of the classical epoch, but whether it really came from Pæstum or was found somewhere at Amalfi or elsewhere, seems uncertain. There is a credence-table against the West wall, supported upon a very fine conventional eagle cut out of a single block of white marble. This eagle has every appearance of having supported the book-desk of an antient ambon. The second and sixths bays on this (North) side are the passages leading into the older church. The first of them, as already re-

marked, still shows on the inner side the form of a Gothic arch. The eighth bay opens into the white marble stair which goes down into the crypt. It descends 5 steps to the North and then reaches a landing giving a false light into the dreary hole of dust and dirt which now forms the end of the South aisle of the older church. From this landing a flight of 15 steps goes down Eastward at a right angle, to another landing (lighted by a large window to the East) whence 7 more steps at a right angle descend Southward to the final landing, from which the floor of the crypt is reached by an Eastward flight of 6 steps more. The floor of the crypt is thus reached by 33 steep steps from that of the church above—say, about 20 ft.—and the stair is made to describe a curious sort of circuit outside the main wall of the building. It is pretty evident that this ungainly outside circuit has been invented in order to afford room for the recess of the side-chapel in the ninth bay of the outer side of the North aisle, and is a modern arrangement by Archbishop Bologna, the original stairs having evidently descended straight, as at Glasgow, Sorrento, or Pontone. As it stands, the diversion of the stairs would be exceedingly awkward in case of large crowds descending and ascending to and from the shrine, and it has, in fact, been found desirable to limit the use of this Northern staircase on such occasions to women, while the corresponding descent on the South is reserved to men. The steps and landings of this stair are entirely composed of marble. It is commonly believed that these slabs are the remains of historical monuments of the most eminent citizens of the Republic, thus adapted by Archbishop Bologna. Surely it may be hoped that, much as he has already to answer for, this charge at least is not true.

The South aisle, like the Northern, has recessed chapels opening from the first, third, fifth, seventh, and ninth bays, and an additional altar erected against the arch which occupies the fourth. Against the second is a large crucifix. The sixth space contains the door leading into the sacristy, a suite of spacious rooms furnished with wooden presses for the vestments, etc. Among the latter is a chasuble which has attached to it two indifferent pieces of Mediæval embroidery: it differs from the usual Italian vestment in having a cross, instead of a stripe or pillar, on

the back. There are also several other later vestments of moderate historical and artistic interest, bearing the arms of Archbishops, etc. There is one rather handsome Mediæval silver-gilt chalice (XIVth Century?) adorned with enamels and precious stones. There is a very large bust of St. Andrew made of silver, at least life-size, which is brought out on great occasions, and two very splendid silver frontals for the High Altar. The plate is all in a state which no English servant who had any idea of keeping his place (or getting another) would contemplate as within the sphere of possibility.

The eighth space on the Southern side, as on the Northern, is occupied by a white marble staircase descending to the crypt. It is exactly the same in plan as the Northern one, and, as already mentioned, is that assigned to the use of men on occasions of much crowding. It is, however, lighted by windows not on the East but on the South (where there is also an external door upon the second landing) and the visitor finds the East wall in front of him occupied by several interesting marbles. One of these is a piece of very elegant Renaissance decoration—arabesques and conventional foliage—in low relief. It is certainly extremely beautiful, but it may be doubted whether it merits the excessive admiration with which it seems to be regarded by everybody at Amalfi. The other is the side of a marble cist, upon which appears, in rather rude XIIIth Century characters, the inscription :—

+ CORP ; - S - AND - AP - :

This is peculiarly interesting, as this is the very marble box in which the skull and some other parts of the body of the Apostle were found in 1603. It is a singular mark of bad taste that it should simply be found built in here. It ought to have been carefully preserved, either at the shrine or in the sacristy, if indeed it would not have been still better to have interred it bodily under the Altar of the crypt, without disturbing its contents, along with the rest of the remains of the Galilean fisherman.

Before proceeding to describe the crypt and shrine underneath which lies the tomb, it is as well to finish the description of the upper church by speaking of the chancel and transepts. All this part has been pushed forward, as regards its lower plan, although

not its arches and roof, one bay into the nave, so that the latter, with its aisles, now consists practically, as far as the ground plan goes, not of ten but of nine bays. The floor of this portion seems also to have been raised. At the ninth pier of the arcade there is an uniform rise of three steps all across. The decorated ceiling is, however, confined to its proper place. It is, as already remarked, part of Archbishop Bologna's work, and extremely handsome of its kind. As, however, it is just on the same level as the nave ceiling, and runs straight across without any difference at the lantern or intersection, the effect is very bad, as in other churches possessing the same fault, *e.g.*, that of St. Antonino and the Cathedral at Sorrento. The end of each transept is now occupied by an altar and reredos in inlaid marbles, presenting no remarkable feature, and over each of these is a shapeless modern window. From the outside, however, it is possible to perceive that the Southern transept (and therefore doubtless also the Northern) had originally a row of seven rather low lancet windows, which are now walled up. The scheme of the Cavaliere Alvino for raising a clerestory above the triforium of the nave would almost have necessitated a similar raising of the transepts, and it may be conjectured that he would have restored the seven lancets and placed a rose or other window above them. It may also be supposed that he would have wished to introduce a true lantern with lofty windows above the intersection, a feature which would almost immeasurably improve the effect of the interior, and, if crowned by an external spire, of the exterior also.

The Northernmost part of the flight of three steps leading from the level of the North aisle towards the transept is wanting as regards the front of the steps, and through these openings it is possible to look down into the crypt. This is almost a proof that the stairs originally descended as at Glasgow, Sorrento (St. Antonino) and Pontone, inside the external walls of the church. Probably, as at Sorrento, they occupied about half or two-thirds the breadth of the aisle, leaving the other inner half or two-thirds as a sort of bridge, (perhaps rising a step at the arch, but more probably not,) by which to pass from the aisle into the transept. The stair must have started at about the same point as at present, or possibly a little farther Westward (say, one bay, or half a bay,)

and there must have been balustrades, doubtless of marble, to protect it.

The outer wall of the last bay of the South aisle, that is to say, that which is now East of the three steps rising towards the chancel, contains the only sepulchral monument of the old church which was spared by Archbishop Bologna. It is that of the Archbishop Andrew de Cuncto, who died December 27, 1503. Its comparative good fortune is said to be owing to the fact that the family of the deceased was still an important one at Amalfi and protested vehemently against its proposed destruction. It has, however, been a good deal knocked about and altered, it must have been moved from another place, and the position of its component parts has been changed. It is all in white marble, and good Renaissance work. It originally consisted of a recessed altar-tomb, in which the effigy of the dead prelate lay upon the top of the sarcophagus containing his remains, while behind him, on the back wall, appeared a group of sacred figures. Under the middle of the sarcophagus is now placed a sort of white marble table or shelf supported upon an imaginary animal, which has every appearance of not having formed any part of the original work. Above the sarcophagus is the statue, but not now upon its back but its side, in complete defiance of the action of the law of gravitation upon the folds of drapery. It represents the Archbishop in full canonicals. Above this again is the relief which originally occupied the back of the niche. There are three half-lengths in it. That towards the feet represents a saint holding a book. At the head is St. Andrew, presenting the Archbishop—a small kneeling figure in Pontifical vestments, with hands closed and raised in prayer—to the Infant Saviour, Whom the Blessed Virgin, placed in the middle, holds to her right. The figure of Christ, unlike the others, is on the same scale as that of the deceased. It is well done but is too realistic. No attempt has been made to idealize the infancy of the Saviour. It is merely a clever study of the nude, the exact representation of any of the dirty little naked urchins of from one to two years of age, who may be seen on the seashore at Amalfi any summer's day.

The Eastern wall of each transept originally had an apse or recess, centring with the aisle in the same way as in other churches



on the same plan, such as those at Salerno, Ravello, Pontone and elsewhere. Above each, as may still be seen from the outside, was a line of seven small lancet windows. It would appear that these features were not regular apses, as at Salerno, but rather were niches, as at Pontone, partly because the seven windows above show them to have been low and consequently small, and partly because the crypt shows no trace of them as it does of the great central apse. Such as they may have been, they have now entirely disappeared, and their places are taken by two large ugly plaster and whitewash rococo arches, opening into very large chapels beyond. That in the North transept is the one in which the Blessed Sacrament is regularly reserved, for which reason some persons kneeling in prayer will nearly always be found in the transept and aisle before it. It is closed by large iron gates, partly draped in red stuff curtains. The present writer never entered it, and it seems to contain nothing remarkable. The South chapel, called that of the Crucified Saviour, is a choir chapel, used by the Canons and the rest of the Cathedral staff when, according to a very corrupt and objectionable practice occasionally found in Italy, they do not use the main chancel of the Cathedral for the daily service. (In condemning them however we may as well remember the similar occasional use of Henry VII.'s chapel in Westminster Abbey.) This choir chapel is white-washed, as usual, and is furnished with an entirely worthless and uninteresting set of deal stalls. Behind the altar is a very curious cupboard filled with reliques, mostly in Mediæval busts, made of gilded wood. Among these reliques are the remains of the martyrs Cosmas, Damian and Vitus, and of the anchorite Macarius, which were removed by Archbishop Bologna from their original resting-place under the High Altar of the Cathedral, and some portions of the bodies of the martyrs Diomede, George, Maximus, Bassus, Fabius, Pantaleon, Fortunatus, Peter of Alexandria, and others, including all those formerly kept at the convent of the Cappuccini, which has now been turned into an hotel. The altar itself is composed of beautiful pieces of early inlaid work in precious marbles and mosaics, and at either side there is a very valuable piece, on a gold mosaic ground, with figures of birds. The

Northern of these two pieces has, however, suffered a good deal. It is evident that, like other fragments of similar work contained in this church, the antient work found at this altar consists of mere dislocated scraps.

It has been already remarked that the chancel of the Cathedral has been pushed forward an whole bay into the nave. It thus occupies the great central apse, the intersection of the transepts which would properly come underneath a lantern, and one bay of the nave. This heterogeneous space is separated from the nave as thus abridged by a rise of several steps and a balustrade fixed between the piers on either side. Just outside, and against the South pier, is the pulpit, a miserable little construction in painted and gilded wood.

The steps and balustrade are of marble, the latter being of coloured marbles and very richly carved and inlaid. The middle portion (which opens with metal gates) is rococo, but the ends next the piers are composed of beautiful fragments of antient inlay and mosaic. The North side has a curious white marble knob carved into a grotesque. The whole of the pavement within, up to the Altar, is a beautiful inlaid work of precious coloured marbles in the rococo style, having the arms of Archbishop Bologna, on a large scale, as the central feature. Immediately within the balustrade, the arch of the bay cribbed from the nave is closed in by a screen on either side. Against that on the North, is the throne of the Archbishop. It is of the simple Mediæval form universal in Italy, entirely of stuff, decorated with his arms, and is only interesting on account of the precious fragments of antient inlaid marbles and mosaic of which the steps, etc., in part consist. The South side is occupied by the organ, in a carved and gilded wooden organ-gallery. The instrument is large, and better than is usual in Italy.

Just beyond this bay comes the architectural chancel arch. This is fixed between the two main piers of the building, and is supported upon two really magnificent polished monoliths of Egyptian granite. It is now a flattened rococo arch in plaster. The granite columns are, of course, old. They are said to be much larger than they appear to be. Their grandeur was inconsistent with Archbishop Bologna's designs. The upper parts are

said, therefore, to be concealed in his plaster, and the gilded plaster Corinthian capitals, to be merely rings by which they are encircled. Eastward of the two great piers, and occupying the breadth of the transepts, are the ordinary stalls for the Canons and choir. They are wooden, almost mean, and quite uninteresting. Immediately within the chancel arch, however, are two very remarkable and beautiful twisted white marble Byzantine columns, inlaid with gold and coloured glass mosaic, now supporting branches for lights. They are not above the suspicion of having been tampered with, and it is said that they are two survivors from the four columns of a baldachin. At the same time, it must be acknowledged that there is a great fancy in Italy for a couple of standards for seven-lights before the altar (they are sometimes, as at Milan, of silver) and that the custom of having them in the form of columns of this sort is that of this part of the country, while it is not easy, taking the very worst view of Archbishop Bologna, to account for the preservation of this pair if he ruthlessly and entirely destroyed the two others. The High Altar is thrown back into the apse, which it fills up. It ought, of course, to occupy such a position as to be immediately over the grave of the Apostle below, as is the case in the corresponding instances of St. Peter's at Rome and elsewhere, according to that which is written in Rev. vi. 9. This was indeed its original position, but, with singular thoughtlessness, Bologna moved it back in order to obtain more room, and, as he no doubt thought (not considering the perspective of the apse) more effect, and hence it comes that it is not the altar but the officiants who stand above the remains of the Galilean fisherman. It is curious to remark that the same thoughtless blunder seems to have been made at Glasgow in the Middle Ages, by removing the High Altar backwards from the position immediately above the shrine of Kentigern. The wall space on each side of the apse is occupied by a sham ambon of very feeble type, but probably working up old materials; that to the North supports the insignificant and modern Paschal candlestick. Nearer the altar than these are a pair of white marble credence-tables, supported upon the heads of as many small mediæval statues (XIVth Century?) of the same material. The Southern of these is represented holding a torch

of the twisted-wax-taper type, and is said to represent Faith; the Northern has something like a bag or bottle, and is called Charity. Hope is supposed to have vanished. They are certainly very like some of the allegorical figures which support some of the Royal tombs at Naples or that (*e.g.*) of Queen Margaret of Anjou (the wife of Charles of Durazzo) at Salerno. They may have belonged to a similar structure.

The High Altar itself with its steps and reredos is a mass of the most precious marbles, including a quantity of ophite and *verde antico* plundered from the ruined abbey of Positano. On raising the carpet which covers the steps, a quantity of Mediæval wrecks become visible, including a very large round piece of porphyry, and a beautiful carved white marble cornice, which looks as if it might have been the top of the ambon. The reredos is an heavy architectural structure, with a picture (generally veiled) in the middle, flanked by three polished columns on each side, six in all, four of which match, suggesting the idea that they may have been the columns of the original Thirteenth Century baldachin. Notwithstanding the extreme richness of the materials, which would constitute splendour to the eye of a lapidary (on close inspection) the deep colours cause the general effect to be dark. In other words, it is a failure; and, on festivals, the authorities are fain to try and brighten up its appearance a little by the use of coloured silk frontals. This erection fills up most of the apse. What appears above is plaster work, very fine of its kind, profusely gilded, and adorned with paintings by Silvestro Mirra of Naples.

From the outside can still be perceived the outline of a pointed window in the middle of the apse. This is the same feature which is to be found in corresponding instances in other places, *e.g.*, in St. Eustace's at Pontone, where it is still open; in the Cathedral at Salerno, where it is blocked up; or in St. Antonino at Sorrento, where it has been turned into a door. This window no doubt came immediately above the antient Episcopal throne at the back of the apse. The throne and its encircling synthronos of seats for the Presbyters, has no doubt been destroyed, but it is unknown how much more of the antient decoration has been destroyed or may only be hidden under the work of Archbishop

Bologna. The seats must have rested against a marble dado, and above this we know that there was a great work in glass mosaic, coloured, upon a gold ground, the lower part of which consisted of busts of SS. Andrew, Cosmas, Damian, Vitus, and Macarius, separated by green palm trees, while above them appeared the colossal bust of the Saviour, in the attitude of blessing, between the monograms IC and XC.

It will be seen, from the preceding pages, that the remains of distinctively early and Mediæval inlaid marble and mosaic work, now apparent, are confined to this Thirteenth Century church. They are very limited in quantity, and are found only in the Baptistry, the choir chapel, the balustrade of the chancel, the Archiepiscopal throne, the two standards for lights, the sham ambons and the steps of the Altar. There is not enough to tally with the description of the old church, and the most natural impression would be that they are simply the disjecta membra of a handsome ambon (or possibly of a greater and a less) as at Ravello and Salerno. It is plain that in any future restoration, one of the first steps should be to gather all these fragments together, with a view to a careful study and approximate decision as to the parts of which they once formed portions, and the manner in which they should again be utilized.

The part of the Cathedral of Amalfi which has inspired the present article is that which appeals most strongly to the feelings of the Scottish tourist, or, at least, to any Scottish tourist in whom the sense of Nationalism triumphs over the feelings of the antiquary. This is the crypt—because underneath it lie most of the earthly remains of St. Andrew. It has already been remarked that its architectural position with regard to the rest of the Cathedral resembles that of the crypt at Glasgow, wherein lies the body of Kentigern, with regard to the great fabric above, or the much humbler burying-place of St. Antonino at Sorrento. When, however, it is compared to the magnificent crypt of Glasgow—perhaps the finest in the world—it must be remembered that the comparison is made only as regards the relative position and arrangement of parts. The small and gloomy vault at Amalfi cannot for a moment be likened to the glorious construction

of Glasgow. At the same time, the extreme preciousness of the materials invests it with undeniable splendour.

The crypt of Amalfi, like that of Glasgow, is designed as a burial vault in which the grave of the Patron Saint shall lie directly below the High Altar of the Church above. As at Glasgow and Sorrento, it is reached by two staircases under the transepts, and which were originally at Amalfi, as now at Glasgow and Sorrento, included within the outer walls of the Church. It is, however, a question, which can only be settled by future excavations, whether these two staircases originally entered the vault straight, as they do at Glasgow and now do, after a circuit outside, at Amalfi (and similarly with those leading to the crypt at Salerno), and as they seem to have done at Pontone, or whether, after descending straight to what is now the third landing at Amalfi, they both turned inwards as (at least at present) at Sorrento and deposited the visitor on the level of the crypt in the sort of Westerly apse which is thrown out from it.

The crypt of Amalfi lies directly under the lantern and transepts of the Church above. It is therefore an oblong vault, lying North and South. It is divided across the middle by four square piers, which, connected by arches with corresponding pilasters in the outer walls, form ten groined vaults in two rows of five each. The whole of the surface of these piers and pilasters and of the walls all round, up to the spring of the groining, is formed of inlaid work of precious marbles, like that of a Florentine table. The floor also is entirely of marbles. The spaces above the line of this splendid walling are painted with sacred subjects. The groining is of the most elaborate and beautiful plaster work, profusely gilded and with the panels filled with pictures. The gilding and painting have suffered a great deal from the damp miasma of the vault during nearly 300 years; the marble, of course, defies damp. Of the five bays on the Eastern side four are occupied by altars of inlaid precious marbles; the central is a rather shallow apse, coinciding with the main apse of the Church above. Like the rest of the crypt, it is a mass of marbles and gilded and painted stucco work. It is lighted by a large window in



the upper part. The two bays at the North end have also large windows, giving light from above, and the same is the case to the South. While, however, the Northern windows are plain, the Southern are filled with beautiful Spanish stained glass, representing the arms of Philips II. and III., by whose munificence the crypt was decorated, the work being finished in 1616. By a curious blunder of the workmen, these heraldic windows have been put in the wrong way, so that the lions of Leon and other conventional animals look to the sinister instead of to the dexter. Of the five bays upon the Western side, the two outermost contain the large archways through which access is given to the crypt from the stairs, down a flight of six white marble steps. The tops at least of these archways appear to have been brutally broken through the paintings adorning the upper part of the wall, and this act (which looks like Archbishop Bologna's), is certainly an argument that before and at the time of the Philips, the stairs did not descend straight as at Glasgow, but turned, as at Sorrento, without, however, having the picturesque openings through which, in the example at Sorrento, one looks down from the landings into the crypt of St. Antonino. This hypothesis is farther strengthened by the following circumstance. While the second bay to the North is (apparently) plain, that to the South, which bears a large marble tablet with an inscription commemorative of the munificence of the Kings Philip, has also a small door, and on passing this door the visitor finds himself in a dark and dusty space between the Southern stair and the deep apse which opens Westward from the central bay. Directly Westward is a vault, seemingly uncontinued, which has much the appearance of having been a burial-vault, but it is impossible to say what, as the freaks of Archbishop Bologna at Amalfi were much the same as those of Burn at St. Giles' in Edinburgh. There is, however, a sort of opening on either hand. That towards the Southern stair is closed, with the exception of a window giving a false light. That on the North side leads into the apse already mentioned. The position of this apse exactly corresponds to that of a similar recess at Sorrento, into

the sides of which the two staircases open, and which itself forms the entrance of the crypt. In the case of Amalfi this apse has been fitted up as a choir with trashy stalls painted white and gold, and contains a little gallery with a wretched little organ. By entering this gallery, it is possible to see that the roof consists of the same beautiful gilded and painted stucco work as that of the rest of the crypt.

In the very centre of the crypt is the shrine of the Apostle, consisting of a very rich reredos in carved and inlaid coloured marbles, with a marble altar in front, and a sort of altar-like table behind. This reredos rises under the vault of the central bay, almost touching it, and the rich marble balustrade engages the two central piers and projects a little in front, where it has metal gates. The centre of the reredos is occupied by a really magnificent bronze statue of the Apostle, the work of Michelangelo Naccarino of Florence. The right hand of the figure holds a conventional bunch of silver flowers, and a fish, hung to a chain, of the same metal. These objects seem to be votive offerings. In niches to the North and South are statues, in white marble and on a smaller scale, of SS. Stephen and Lawrence.

The altar is of inlaid coloured marbles, and has an open grating of gilt metal in the middle of the front. Kneeling on the step, the visitor is able to peer through this grating. There is then visible a large silver lamp, which burns day and night, and, between it and the front of the altar, a large crown with arches, of gold or silver-gilt. This crown is flanked by four vases of artificial flowers under glass shades. These miserable decorations, and the worthless gilded cast-metal French candlesticks upon the retable of the altar form a startling contrast to the solid and striking splendour of everything else around.

The remains of the Apostle are said to lie at the bottom of a grave or pit, directly underneath the metal crown enclosed in a coffin of chestnut wood, covered with plates of silver, and this again in a sarcophagus of marble. The entire depth of the grave is stated to be (like that of the other or Western pit in which the second cist was found in

1603) nine palms, or nearly seven feet, and the height of the sarcophagus or cist two palms, or about eighteen inches, so that there is a depth of seven palms, or over five feet, between the top of the grave and the lid of the cist. The grave and coffin are never opened upon any ordinary occasion.\* From the crown is hung down in the hollow space of the grave a curious instrument. This consists of a moderate-sized clear glass pot or large phial, with a spout. The open mouth is set in silver, whence rise three silver branches, upon the top of which rests an Eucharistic paten, while a metal cup is suspended between the paten and the phial. This instrument is withdrawn at times by the Archbishop, and a certain amount of liquid is then sometimes found in one or other of the three vessels. This liquid is called the *manna*, or more usually at Amalfi, the *sweat* ('*sudor*') of the Apostle. By the Amalfitans it is universally regarded as miraculous, and its appearance or absence as an indication whether the Apostle is pleased or angry. None has been found for some time. A small quantity (about a teaspoonful) which was presented to the present writer, closely sealed in a small glass phial, has exactly the appearance of pure water. And he ventures to think—with all due respect to all to whom respect is due—that the phenomenon and its fluctuating character may be explainable by the condensation of vapours in the changing atmospheric conditions of this dank vault.†

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\* They are sometimes opened upon extraordinary occasions. Some years ago they were opened in order to take out a piece of bone to send to Scotland, and which is now at St. Mary's Chapel, Broughton St., Edinburgh. The present writer is under the impression that there must be some secret staircase giving access to the vault, the position of which is known only to the authorities.

† The same phenomenon, although far less talked about, is found in connection with the so-called grave of the Evangelist Matthew at Salerno, where the natural conditions are very similar. Signor Camera (*Istoria*, pp. 47-8), says that the liquid was first observed at Amalfi upon Nov. 24, 1304, but the discovery is mentioned in the local Church Kalendar upon Nov. 29, being St. Andrew's Eve. At the same time, it is interesting to observe the following passage in the works (*De gloria Martyrum*, i. 31,) of Gregory, Bishop of Tours, who died in 596. 'The Apostle Andrew makes

The skull\* which was shown to the public of Amalfi by the Cardinal Peter Capuano in 1208, and re-discovered in 1603, was, as already mentioned, removed from the bottom of the grave and enshrined in the crypt in 1846. It is kept in a sort of small cupboard or ambry, of marble, with a gold or silver-gilt door, upon the Altar-like table which is placed against the back of

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manifest a great wonder upon the day of his solemn Festival. This is the manna which flows from his grave either in the form of flour or in that of oil of delicious fragrance. Hereby is given an indication of the fruitfulness of the coming year. If the manna is scanty, the fruits of the earth will be scanty, but if it be abundant, it is a sign that the fields will bring forth abundantly. They say that in some years oil has run out of the grave to such an extent that the stream has reached to the middle of the Church. This takes place in the town of Patras, in the province of Achaia, where this blessed Apostle and Martyr was crucified for the Redeemer's Name's sake, and so ended this present life by a glorious death. When the oil flows, the perfume is as strong as if the place had been sprinkled with a compound of many spices. This is regarded by the people as a miracle and a mercy, for unctions or drinks made from it often heal the sick. Since the glorious Assumption of this Apostle many mighty works of power are said to have been shown forth, either at this grave or in the divers places where his reliques have been deposited, and of these I have not thought it out of place to recall a few, since the glory of Martyrs and the power of Saints is the up-building of the Church.' The present writer has visited the Church of St. Andrew at Patras, where a graceful white marble cenotaph covers the empty grave above mentioned, from which the body of the Apostle was removed by Constantine, but he heard nothing of any kind of flow from it.

\* Visitors to Rome will remember that the so-called head of the Apostle Andrew is one of the four great reliques preserved in St. Peter's, the position of the upstairs chapel in which it is kept being marked by the colossal statue of St. Andrew which stands in front of one of the four great piers supporting the dome. At Amalfi, the local authorities get over the difficulty by asserting that the head at St. Peter's (which is practically never shown, since it is only the silver reliquary containing it which is occasionally exhibited,) consists only of the jaws and the bones of the face below the eyes. It is true that the skull shown at Amalfi consists only of the portion which contained the brain, but, as far as the present writer has been able to ascertain by some correspondence, the relique at St. Peter's seems very probably to include a brain-pan also. If so, it is obvious that, while both skulls may be false, only one of the two can be genuine, and that the comparative evidence is overwhelmingly in favour of the Amalfitan one. The Roman

the reredos. Hence, it is in the full light of the window in the Eastern apse. When the ambry is opened, the cranium appears within, in a reliquary of glass and silver, which can be brought out for closer inspection. As the present writer has no knowledge of anatomy, he can only say that the skull appeared to him rather long, and less than the average size of that of an adult man, the forehead somewhat narrow, and the sutures remarkably obscure.

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It is obvious that in any future operations of which the Cathedral of Amalfi may be the subject, a very different treatment ought to be applied to its different parts. The crypt itself should be left unaltered, or rather, simply put as much as possible into the condition in which it was left in 1616. At the same time, an attempt ought to be made to use the interior of the whole of the great architectural platform upon which the Cathedral stands, for a vast and noble crypt or under-church. On the other hand the cloister (the *Paradiso*), the bell tower, and the Church of the Assumption with its Northern and Southern chapels, ought

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'Head of St. Andrew' has, however, a long and curious history of its own. It was presented to Pope Pius II., in the year 1462, by the Prince Thomas Palaiologos (who ultimately died at Rome in 1465) brother of the Emperors John VII. and Constantine XIII. (the last of the Roman Emperors) who was Prince of Achaia and who brought it from Patras; and, since then, it has been the centre of many a Papal ceremony. It is easily conceivable, upon the one hand, that Constantine the Great may have left at Patras, or that some subsequent Emperor or even the Latin authorities may have sent thither, the bones of the face and jaws, as all that remained of the mouth which had there proclaimed the Gospel with its latest breath; and in support of this theory may be cited the facts that the silver-encased object at St. Peter's is described as singularly small for a complete head, that the Church of Amalfi does not claim to possess the jaws and face-bones, that a small portion of bone is still at Patras, and that a tooth is among the parts which were shown at St. Andrews in the Middle Ages, if not as early as the Eighth Century. On the other hand, a nasty suspicion is aroused by the facts that in the Fifteenth Century the skull at Amalfi had passed out of sight and the documents attesting its presence were very likely unknown, while there were very strong reasons for pleasing Pius II. by an interesting and valuable present.

to meet with a restoration as purely conservative, or rather, reactionary, as possible, so as to bring them back to their Mediæval condition, and, in this regard, especial care should be bestowed upon the series of chapels on the South. In the case of the great Church of St. Andrew, a mixed treatment, partly re-actionary and partly progressive, would be required. The stairs leading to the crypt should be restored to their original form. The whole or almost the whole of Archbishop Bologna's work ought to be removed and the church replaced as far as possible in its Mediæval form. It would probably be well even to remove the chapels of the Blessed Sacrament and of the Crucified Saviour: the Sacrament could be reserved at the High Altar of the Church of the Assumption, the greater reliques should be replaced under the restored High Altar above the tomb of St. Andrew, and those of less importance in other chapels, either in the altars or in suitable ambries. The clerestory ought to be rebuilt, and the transepts raised again to correspond in height with it. Lastly, the roofs of the transepts ought not to be allowed to run along above the High Altar. A new feature should here be introduced by the erection of a lofty lantern amply provided with windows. And on the outside, this lantern ought to be crowned with a lofty spire. The question then remains, what ought to be done with the precious marble inlaid-work of Archbishop Bologna. It is exquisite of its kind and much too good to be lost. In all probability the best plan would be to erect a third church, for the express purpose of containing it, immediately to the South of and opening into the church of St. Andrew. It would not require aisles; recesses between the pilasters would be sufficient to hold such altars as were not wanted elsewhere. Thither should go the whole thing, including the present High Altar and the ceilings—four new shafts being, if necessary, substituted for the four in the reredos which might be required for the restored baldachin. The only possible difficulty would be in the arrangement of the transept roof, but this would doubtless yield to a little ingenuity. Externally, the narthex ought to be continued to the South as on the North, thus binding the whole three churches together; and the South-West angle ought to be occupied by a new clock-tower, to match the old bell-tower on the North. It would be



far better to draw up at once a 'really thorough scheme of this kind, and to move on slowly towards its realization, than to whittle away at isolated details. Could such a plan ever be carried out, and the dirty streets and houses which now stand between the Cathedral block and the line of the new Positano-Salerno road skirting the sea, which is at present in course of construction, be removed and made to give place to a garden planted with suitable trees such as palms, the mass of the Cathedral buildings would together form an whole not less artistically beautiful than historically precious.

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#### ART. VII.—EAST AFRICA AND THE SLAVE TRADE.

THE purpose of this article is to present a bird's-eye view of the Eastern half of the Dark Continent as it is to-day; and therefore I begin by arresting attention on one of its remarkable geographical features. There extends through its whole length a navigable waterway formed by three great inland seas, together with the Zambesi and the Shiré Rivers at the South and the Nile at the North. There are three places at which the continuity of this waterway is interrupted; but these are comparatively of small extent. The Murchison Rapids on the Shiré is the first of the three; but a road, seventy miles in length, brings the traveller to the point from which he can advance more than 400 miles due north, by a steamer, to the head of Lake Nyasa. Here a road of 260 miles leads to the south end of Lake Tanganika, whence a steam vessel runs to within two degrees of the Equator. There, at the head of Tanganika, is the third and last portage; but the land between the north end of Tanganika and the great inland sea called Victoria Nyanza, has not yet been explored and mapped, but the distance is certainly not greater than 200 miles. Out of the Victoria Lake the Nile flows to the Mediterranean. These great lakes form a most important feature of Eastern Africa, and must have a large place in its future development. And besides those, there is Bangweolo, due west

from Nyasa, and fully a half larger in the area of its waters ; and between Tanganika and the Nile, there lie the Muta Nzige (unexplored), and the Albert Nyanza, where Emin is, the one of these being 200 and the other 150 miles in length.

It is on the land lying between these lakes and the ocean that the mind of Europe is beginning to be fixed with a measure of interest which till lately was given to the Congo ; and if our information is as yet partial and incomplete, there is one aspect in which it is painfully definite. It is the huge hunting ground from which an almost incredible number of human beings is gathered to supply the slave markets of Persia and the Arabian Gulf. Of the overwhelmingly strong and pathetic testimony regarding this monstrous evil, and the extremely acute stage to which it has advanced quite lately, I must speak by and by ; in the meantime let us turn our eyes to the coast, the blockade of which began on December 2nd, and get what notion we can of the ports by which traffic, lawful or unlawful, from the interior discharges itself.

Beginning at the north, we have Suakin which belongs to Egypt, and is for the present administered by our Government. It has a good harbour, and receives nearly all the sea-borne traffic, import and export, of Nubia and the Eastern Soudan. At the moment of writing, however, Suakin has just been rescued from a persistent attack by forces of Mahdist fanatics, who have got somehow large guns and competent gunners. The motive of this attack—which Britain did not find it easy to repel—is not far to seek.

Coming southward, the next port is Massowah, formed by an island connected with the mainland by a causeway, and for the present in the hands of Italy. It is the natural harbour of Abyssinia, and would, if that kingdom were not so self-contained and stay-at-home, have been long ago connected with it. In 1884 Admiral Hewitt concluded a treaty with King John for the suppression of the Slave Trade, and we have no reason to doubt his faithfulness ; but the accursed trade rages in its worst forms all around the Abyssinian mountains, and if not actually from Massowah, then from places of less note on the right and left of it, the trade with the opposite coasts of

the Red Sea goes on actively. It was only the other day that one of our cruisers brought to Aden 206 liberated slaves, of whom a number were placed under care of the Keith-Falconer Mission there.

Just outside the Red Sea there is a port called Tajourra, about which a good deal is said in the Reports submitted to Parliament on December 3, 1888. 'I found,' says Colonel Stace, on September 23, 'no less than 250 slaves (probably mostly Christians) had been shipped from Tajourra in one dhow.' Commander Gissing reports on September 6th: 'They march to the coast of Tajourra some 22 days, and are there kept to be fattened up, when they march to Roheita six days. The price at Tajourra is—for girls 60 to 70 dollars, boys 50 dollars. On arrival at Hodeida (in Arabia) the price is—for girls 120 to 130 dollars, boys 70 to 80 dollars; so the profit is very large. I am not aware of any steps taken by the French to stop this trade; their flag flies at Tajourra, and it goes on apparently without any interference on their part.'

South of the Equator the eastern coast of Africa becomes specially interesting in view of very recent changes, which have already produced much excitement in Europe, and cannot but be attended by large consequences for many years to come. Lying at a distance of twenty-five miles from the mainland is a small island, 616 square miles in area, and having in 1872 a population of 380,000, or 616 persons in each square mile. This is by far the most densely peopled bit of African soil, and the last sixteen years have added greatly to the importance and population of Zanzibar. Two smaller islands, Pemba and Mafia, lying to the north and south of it, and a strip of the adjacent littoral from Witu to Cape Delgado, 600 miles long and 10 miles deep, belongs to the Sultanate of which Zanzibar is the capital. Now, this is the only spot in the entire length and breadth of Eastern Africa where there is even the form of a civilised government; and how far it deserves the name may be judged from the recent cutting off of heads in the street. In all thinking about the present or future of Central East Africa, the circumstance must be kept in mind that what government

exists in it has till now been wholly tribal or patriarchal, broken up into hundreds, probably thousands, of little provinces entirely independent of one another, often in a state of active hostility. The nearest approach to an organised state is to be found in what is called the kingdom of Uganda; but whatever that might have become under Stanley's friend, Mtesa, it is to-day ruled by a hemp-chewing, blood-thirsty young savage, Mwanga, the murderer of Bishop Hannington, and serves none of the ends of a State in the development of resources or the protection of life and property.\* Hence the Arab Sultanate of Zanzibar, planted in what must always be the very focus of communication between East Africa and the rest of the world, has an importance far beyond what its own character and resources would secure for it; and statesmen are very jealous about maintaining its independence, for much the same reason that they have so long maintained moribund Turkey. Down to 1873 the traditions of this precious little kingdom were about as bad as they could be. It had certainly some forms of legitimate trade, but its shores were crowded with dhows laden to the gunwale with men and women and children brought over from the mainland; an open slave market was held; the Sultan had an average revenue of £25,000 from a poll-tax on the slaves sold; and the captives, transferred to larger vessels, were distributed among the ports of Arabia and Persia. Since the mission of Sir Bartle Frere in 1873, and the convention with Britain then brought about, the condition of Zanzibar has improved outwardly; but the things that have happened since August last render it extremely doubtful whether the traffic in human blood and sinew has not been rather concealed than suppressed. There is no open slave-market in Zanzibar, and it has a lawful commerce represented

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\* The *Times* of January 11th in a second edition tells of a crisis having suddenly come in Uganda, Mwanga being made prisoner, the English and French missionaries being expelled, and a purely Mahomedan kingdom set up. If this new dynasty should prove permanent an enormous increase of the Slave Trade would result; but my opinion (so far as the present information enables one to form an opinion) is that the people will probably rise against and thrust out the invaders.

by about a million sterling; but it is still the city to which fiends like Tipoo Tib and his lieutenants may resort with impunity for purposes of business or pleasure. A change took place in March last, Bargeesh being succeeded by Sultan Kalifa, to whom our Foreign Office gives a good character as honestly desirous to work with us in the suppression of the ruthless and exterminating warfare now carried on against the helpless natives of Africa, but under whose weak and fanatical administration the trade has assumed a character of violence unheard of till now.

The whole of the coast which belongs to Zanzibar, while remaining under the sovereignty of the Sultan, has been farmed out to two trading companies, the one British, the other German, in consideration of a royalty paid by these companies; and the administration of the ports has been formally placed in their hands. This remarkable transaction dates, in the case of the German company, from the 16th of August 1888, on which day the flag of Germany was run up beside that of the Sultan, with a considerable naval demonstration, at each of the fourteen ports assigned to that country; in the case of the British East African Company, the date is not quite a month later, and the transference was more quietly performed. The British portion of the coast is 150 miles in length, extending from Kipini or Formosa Bay to Wanga, and among the six or seven harbours belonging to it is that which is described as the finest on the shores of Africa, the ancient town of Mombasa. Like Massowah, it is formed by an island, on which the native town is built, and within the shelter of which, in many natural recesses, there is depth and space for twenty ironclads. The German portion, from Wanga to Cape Delago, is 350 miles in length, and includes those ports which have, since the discovery of Tanganika twenty years ago, received the growing traffic from Ujiji and, more recently, even from the farther side of that inland sea. Being situated precisely opposite Zanzibar and within a few hours steaming of it, these ports have an obvious advantage, as well as in the circumstance that the roads leading into them from the interior have been well trodden for a number of years. Besides, Germany had several Mission stations and an industrial

colony in the country lying immediately behind; so that her taking up the administration of this portion of the coast appears altogether appropriate and matter for congratulation.

This transference of the coast to European powers is, however, by no means all that has taken place. It was preceded by a transaction which brings into diplomacy a new phrase and a new thing. We have to make ourselves familiar now with the meaning of 'sphere of influence,' or 'sphere of interest,' an expression which came into use in the London Convention, signed by the late Lord Iddesleigh for Britain and Count Hatzfeldt for Germany on the 29th of October, 1886, and which is defined as meaning that 'within a prescribed district no other Power shall make acquisitions of territory, accept a protectorate, or compete in commercial pursuits.' Applying this principle to the portion of Africa lying immediately behind the strips of coast belonging to the Zanzibar Sultanate, and extending some four or five hundred miles inland, Germany and England, with the cognizance of France and Portugal, in the said London Convention divided the land between them by a line drawn from Wanga on the coast, to Kavirondo Bay on the Victoria Nyanza, all to the north being the British, all to the south being the German 'sphere of interest.' The other, the outside, boundaries of the territory thus dealt with, are not marked with the same precision, but it may be taken as sufficiently accurate, to say that a line from Cape Delago to the great chain of mountains confining Lake Nyasa bounds the German portion on the south, while the Tana River and a line prolonged from its sources to the Nile, limits the British portion. The point to be noticed just now is that it was not until seven months after the London Convention had been signed, that Mr. Wm. Mackinnon, C.I.E. acquired from the late Sultan Bargeesh, 'the entire management and administration of those parts of the mainland and islands of the Zanzibar Dominions, on the east coast of Africa, appertaining to the territory lying between Wanga and Kipini, both inclusive, which are recognized in the Anglo-German Treaty of 1886, as reserved for the exclusive exercise of British influence,' and so laid the foundation of the Imperial British East African Company as securely



as circumstances would allow. Perhaps the German Company proceeded with equal care, so far as the bargain with the Sultan was concerned ; but the result in its case has been that unlooked for and triumphant outbreak of violence, which has, for the present, paralyzed all trade in its fourteen ports, pushed the intending colonists into the sea, and made the newly acquired territory a source only of anxiety, expense and bitter mortification.

All that remains of the coast till we again touch British soil in the far south, 1500 miles, goes by the name of the Mozambique coast, and belongs to Portugal. It is matter of grave suspicion that the slave-hunters of the Zambesi and Nyasa regions must bring their shuddering merchandise for shipment to some parts of this coast—Ibo, most probably ; but the assertions of Portugal on the side of humanity are stronger and louder than those of any other Power. The only remark, therefore, needing to be made at this point, is that the attempts of Portugal to close the mouth of the Zambesi, by sudden increase of tariff and by the actual seizure of a steam-vessel belonging to the African Lakes Company, have been promptly arrested by our Foreign Office, and Commander Cameron tells us Lord Salisbury has passed his word that the only entrance to the great internal water-way of Eastern Africa shall remain open to the world.

Having thus surveyed the coast in its entire length from North to South, we turn to that inhuman traffic, the sudden recrudescence of which has shocked and roused the philanthropy of Europe. Whatever we may find it reasonable to accept as the causes of the present state of things over the entire extent of East Africa, the testimony is too abundant, too minute, and too recent to allow of any doubt that the trade in human beings is of such dimensions and is accompanied by such unspeakable atrocities as to render indifference impossible. It is more than a generation since the sympathies of Europe were first roused by the appeals of Livingstone, and several worthy efforts have been made in response to them, in the three ways suggested by the great explorer to stop what he

called 'the running sore of the world.' Our Government did something in the way of treaties and employing cruisers; the Universities of England, the Churches of Scotland, and several German and British Missionary Societies, sent in heroic men and women to impart to the natives the knowledge of Christianity and the habits of civilization; and that lawful commerce on which Livingstone set chief value, as a means of destroying the unlawful, has been vigorously attempted in both the North and South. But the result of these operations has not been to abolish, nor even to diminish the evil. At the present moment the very reverse of this is the fact we have to face. Still the efforts made in behalf of humanity have not been without a very real and important measure of success. If anyone will make himself familiar with the work carried on by the various missionaries at Mombasa (Freretown) and Uganda in the North, at Blantyre on the Shiré Highlands, and Bandawe on the western shores of Nyasa, chiefly during the last twelve years, he will be convinced that the natives of Eastern Africa are capable of receiving education and Christianity, with the effect of transforming them from a savage to a civilized state. The experiment has not been made on a large scale, nor has it had long time to work; but it is already quite sufficient to demonstrate the possibility of raising the Africans in the scale of humanity.

The usefulness of a blockade at sea is proved by the cunning used in evading it by obtaining French papers. Too conclusive proof of the antagonism of honest industry to the Arabs' traffic is furnished by the deadly attacks made on the African Lakes Company's stations, and, more recently, on the Germans settling on the coast. There may have been a certain rough aggressiveness on the part of the Germans, a want of sympathy and conciliation in entering on the territories made over to them by the Sultan; but there is no doubt that Lord Salisbury was right when, in his speech on the first night of the autumn session, he ascribed the furious attacks made on the German Company at all the ports to the fact that they had come to do that which would destroy the infamous trade of the Arabs by establishing settlements of lawful industry and commerce.

The public must by this time be more or less familiar with the facts of the case, so that evidence need not be presented in much detail of the unexampled extent of the slave-hunting over Central Africa, and the heart-rending cruelties with which it is accompanied. A daily study of the telegrams from Zanzibar during the last four or five months proves that the statements I am about to quote, describe not what is a few years or even a few months old, but what is taking place at the present moment.

Thus Commander Cameron cries :—

‘Do the people of Great Britain realise that every minute a fresh victim is seized on by slave-stealers, that not an hour passes without more than fifty being killed or torn from their homes, and that during this month of August in which I write, and when most of us are enjoying a holiday, forty-five thousand more victims are being added to the number of those who, through Cardinal Lavigerie and others, appeal to us for aid and protection from some of the foulest criminals that ever disgraced the earth? I am using the estimate I made in Africa : Cardinal Lavigerie quadruples these numbers.’

The Cardinal's statement, repeated all over Europe and not questioned, is that 400,000 slaves are brought to the coast every year, and that for every one of these, five at least, often many more, are either killed in the hunting, or die on the march. The process of slave making is after this fashion :— Into the midst of dense populations the Arabs—men of large means often—go with a body of porters and armed followers, to collect ivory. They are men of plausible manners, and for a time ingratiate themselves with the natives, erecting villages, sowing seeds, and even remaining sometimes for years in one locality ; then, having got together stock enough for the market of Zanzibar, suddenly the peaceful natives are surrounded at midnight, terrified by discharge of innumerable guns, women and children put in chains, old men and such as make troublesome resistance shot down or knocked on the head, and the rest, needed as porters, placed in the taming-sticks by experienced hands. Let those who would rather remain in ignorance of the truth than have their fine feelings shocked,

pass over the following descriptions by eye-witnesses of the next stages in the process of slave making.

'Within the enclosure,' says Mr. Stanley, describing what he saw in 1882, on ground which he, alas ! had discovered only a few years before, and found occupied by tribes who at least were free, 'was a series of low sheds extending, many lines deep, from the immediate edge of the clay bank inland, 100 yards ; in length, the camp was about 300 yards. . . . There are countless naked children, many mere infants, forms of boyhood and girlhood, and occasionally a drove of absolutely naked old women, bending under a basket of fuel, or cassava tubers, or bananas, who are driven through the moving groups by two or three musketeers. On paying more attention to details, I observe that mostly all are fettered ; youths with iron rings around their necks, through which a chain, like one of our boat anchor chains, is rove, securing the captives by twenties. The children over ten are secured by copper rings, each ring being brought together by the central ring, which accounts for the apparent listlessness of movement I observed on first coming in presence of this curious scene. The mothers are secured by shorter chains, around whom their respective progeny of infants are grouped, hiding the cruel iron links that fall in loops or festoons on their mammas' breasts. There is not an adult man captive among them. . . . The slave-traders admit that they have only 2,000 captives in this fold, yet they have raided through the length and breadth of a country larger than Ireland, bringing fire and spreading carnage with lead and iron. . . . They tell me, however, that the convoys already arrived at Nayangwe with slaves captured in the interior, have been as great as their present band. Five expeditions have come and gone with their booty of ivory and slaves, and these five expeditions have now completely weeded the large territory above described. . . . Every second during which I regard them, the clink of fetters and chains strikes upon my ears. My eyes catch sight of the continual lifting of the hand to ease the neck in the collar, or as it displays a manacle exposed through a muscle being irritated by its weight, or want of fitness. My nerves are offended with the rancid effluvium of the unwashed herds within this human kennel. The smell of other abominations annoys me in that vitiated atmosphere, for how could poor people, bound and rivetted together by twenties, do otherwise than wallow in filth ?'

That Nayangwe, mentioned by Stanley, is a spot which it is worth the reader's while to find out and mark on his map. It is pretty near the centre of the continent, lying on the Congo, 385 miles south of Stanley Falls. David Livingstone went so

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\* *The Congo and the Founding of its Free State*, ii., 144-148.

far as this point, tracing the great river; and when Stanley reached it in 1875, he found an Arab settlement, a trading depot of the white-robed, smooth-spoken demons, where they gathered ivory, organized raids, prepared slave sticks and fetters; but even their greed was not strong enough to tempt them to risk the perils of cannibals in the regions beyond. It was from this point that Stanley set out on that 'big swim' of 280 days from which he emerged at Banana Point, tattered and triumphant, after having made the magnificent discovery by which he has added a new world to the sphere of human enterprize. The slavers as we have seen, were not slow to follow him, and the region in which he saw 118 villages burned and desolate was the same which he had seen before—and so shortly before!—smiling in prosperity. Since he disappeared matters have become rapidly worse. Lieutenant Wissman, the discoverer of the great Kasai river, and one of those from whom we expect heroic deeds in the near future, had a similar experience, which he told in a paper read before the Royal Geographical Society. He saw in 1881 a certain beautiful and fertile country, where men who had made considerable progress in the arts of peace, inhabited large towns shaded by palms. Four years later, he returned to Bagna Perihi to find 'a charred pole here and there, a few banana trees' as 'the only evidence that man had dwelt here.' The hordes of Tipoo Tib had been there, and the whole tribe had 'ceased to exist.' Wissman came on the camp of one of the great trader's lieutenants, 3000 strong. 'I paid a visit to Sayol's camp. A scaffolding of beams at its entrance was ornamented with fifty hewn-off right hands. Later, musket shots proclaimed that the leader of this gang was practising musketry on his unfortunate prisoners. Some of my men told me that the victims of this cruelty had been cut up immediately to furnish a cannibal feast; for Tipoo Tib's auxiliaries from the Lomani are cannibals.'

Professor Drummond tells powerfully a tale of like pathos and horror regarding the Wa-Nkondo tribe on the Tanganika plateau\*, but I prefer to quote the words of an eye-witness,

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\* *Tropical Africa*, pp. 72-74.

Mr. Frederick Maitland Moir. Kolunda is the name of the Arab trader who, after ten years' residence in 'the garden of Tanganika,' determined to carry his goods to the coast, and made up his caravan by the atrocious means already described. Mr. Moir saw it pass, three thousand strong :

'First came armed men, dancing, gesticulating, and throwing about their guns as only Arabs can do, to the sound of drums, paupipes, and other less musical instruments. Then followed, slowly and sedately, the great man himself, accompanied by his brother and other head men, his richly caparisoned donkey walking along near by ; and surely no greater contrast could be conceived than that between this courteous, white-robed Arab, with his gold-embroidered joho, silver sword and daggers, and silken turban, and the miserable swarm of naked, squalid human beings that he had wantonly dragged from their now ruined homes in order to enrich himself. . . . Ominously prominent among the loads were many slave sticks, to be handy if any turned refractory or if any likely stranger were met. Mingling with and guarded by them came the wretched, overburdened, tied-up slaves. The men who might still have had spirit to try and escape were driven, tied two and two, in the terrible goriee or taming-stick, or in gangs of about a dozen, each with an iron collar let into a long iron chain, many, even so soon after the start, staggering under their loads.

And the women ! I can hardly trust myself to think or speak of them. They were fastened to chains or thick bark ropes ; very many, in addition to their heavy weights of grain or ivory, carried little brown babies, dear to their hearts as a white man's child to his. The double burden was almost too much, and still they struggled wearily on, knowing too well that when they showed signs of fatigue, not the slaver's ivory, but the living child would be torn from them and thrown aside to die. One poor old woman I could not help noticing. She was carrying a biggish boy, who should have been walking, but whose weak, thin legs had evidently given way. She was tottering already ; it was a supreme effort of a mother's love,—and all in vain ; for the child, easily recognisable, was brought into camp a couple of hours later by one of my hunters, who had found him on the path. We had him cared for ; but his poor mother would never know. Already, during the three days' journey from Liendwe, death had been freeing the captives. It was well for them ; still we could not help shuddering as, in the darkness, we heard the howl of the hyenas along the track, and realised only too fully the reason why. Low as these poor negroes may be in the moral scale, they have still strong maternal affections and love of home and country.\*

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\* This picture, drawn with so much graphic force, is taken from the *Scottish Geographical Magazine* for April 1885. Mr. Moir contributes to



To give the reader a fair conception of the outrageous crimes that are being perpetrated against our common nature, it is necessary to refer to things worse than even burned villages, taming-sticks, and starvation. Again I warn the squeamish and easy-going to pass over a page: but if such things are done—and that is beyond doubt—it is not too much to ask Englishmen and Scotsmen to read of them, and to *think*.

Mr A. B. Wylde, in an appendix to his recent book on the Soudan, tells of unutterably dreadful processes by which eunuchs are provided for the markets of Arabia, Persia, and even Egypt, the lives of twenty boys being sacrificed for the successful unsexing of one. He quotes a letter to himself, dated 'Khartoum, August 1878,' in which the late General Gordon says, 'I have hung one man in Obeid for mutilating a boy, and hope to hang five more in a couple of days. We have caught 17 caravans in three months.' In another letter, dated 'Shaka Darfur, 23rd April, 1879,' Gordon says, 'Gessi has, after eight engagements, routed the revolted slave-traders, and I hope hourly to hear of the capture and death of the leaders. I am rooting them out of these lands: we have caught 71 caravans since June 1878.' Alas! the attack on Suakin shows how far the slavers are from being rooted out.

It is not only in the Soudan that this hideous crime of mutilation is practised. Mr. H. H. Johnston in the *Graphic* of September 29th, mentions that at certain stations 'they mutilate a large number of the boys in such a brutal and unskilful manner, that not a few die in lingering agony.'

From the Rev. Clement Scott of Blantyre, the head of the Church of Scotland's Missions there, a man of the very highest character for wisdom as well as zeal, comes the following, under date, February 25th, 1888:—

'It is impossible to tell with accuracy the number that have been carried

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*Murray's Magazine* for November 1888 a paper on 'Englishmen and Arabs in East Africa,' in which will be found a carefully weighed and trustworthy account of the present position of things in the regions occupied by the African Lakes Company, of which he has been manager since 1878.

off with Arabs as slaves, but a large number of women and children are known to be in their hands. That the fate of the majority of the former was not one of slavery only, we have too much reason to fear. Lest it should be thought that I exaggerate, I will tell your readers that the leader of this ruffianly band, a Belooch from Zanzibar, had the blackguard audacity to inform the Rev. J. A. Bain, M.A., and Mr. Monteith, in an interview they had with him before the massacre, what would be done with "the young Wa-Nkonde girls," accompanying his atrocious statement with the foulest language. And there is no doubt that most were abandoned to the Ruga-ruga and other ruffians who formed his force, whose only pay consists in uncontrolled license of this kind, with a very small proportion of the booty captured.'

I shall close this statement of the wrongs of Africa by mentioning a circumstance told me by Dr. Laws of Livingstonia, who sailed into Lake Nyasa in October 1875 in the *Ilala*, and is labouring there still. He went one morning to the school and found no pupils. At length getting hold of a boy and asking the reason, the boy said, 'Did you not hear? So and so,' naming a girl of twelve, a promising scholar, 'was carried off yesterday.' On inquiry, Dr. Laws found that the girl had finished her task of sewing the previous afternoon, folded up her work neatly and brought it to the mistress, bade her good-bye with a smile and started on her walk home with two companions. Though the distance was only three miles, the girls had been kidnapped, placed in a dhow and taken to the other side of the Lake before anyone, who could have saved them, was aware. No wonder the school was not well attended for a while.

Such being the miserable condition of all Eastern Africa, the question has to be faced, what can be done? It would be an insult to our common Christianity to suppose that reasons must be given for doing something. Our all-embracing commerce, with the splendid instruments it has created for facilitating the intercourse of nations, the outstanding phenomenon of the nineteenth century, is surely to be regarded as a part of the kingdom of Christ in its widest and truest sense; and when, by the natural and inevitable advance of commerce, those who enjoy knowledge and civilization are brought into sudden and startling contact with hundreds of millions of men,

who are suffering under peculiarly grievous oppression, there is enough of conscience and heart found to produce pity, indignation, and a prompting to succour those who cannot defend themselves. Action is what is wanted. The fight now going on for the possession of the Stevenson Road across the plateau connecting the north end of Nyasa with the south end of Tanganika (the strategical key of the position in the south), is what attracts me most, because there the forces of civilization are in strenuous and wholesome action. General Gordon was, by the admission of all, a very devout Christian; and his letters from the Soudan, already quoted, have the true ring about them when they speak of hanging one worse-than-murderer to-day and hoping to hang five to-morrow. We trust King Leopold will obey the last solemn appeal of Major Bartelot by bringing Tipoo Tib and his treacherous accomplices to justice. Nothing would so effectually mend matters as the hanging of several such, with all formality, in front of the Sultan's palace at Zanzibar, thus bringing home, both to the ruthless cowardly Arabs and to those who have selfishly winked at their crimes for the sake of the shekels to be gained by trade in calico, beads, wire, guns, gunpowder and ardent spirits, that a force exists sufficiently strong to vindicate the foundation principles of justice and mercy.

What prospect is there of such a force being brought into play? When one sits down calmly to form an estimate of the probabilities in this case, the result is distinctly cheering. At first, the appalling extent and the long persistence of the evil, and the fierce violence against Europeans which is its new feature, together with the absence of any strong governments throughout East Africa, create a feeling of despair; but that does not last long. Not only may we fall back on a trust in the ultimate victory of right: we see already in operation certain influences which may reasonably be expected to issue before many years have passed in drying up 'the running sore of the world.'

First of all, there is the blockade. On the 6th of November, as soon as Parliament had re-assembled, the Prime Minister delivered a very important speech, in which he informed the

country that an alliance had been entered into between Germany and Britain for the purpose of absolutely preventing the import of the materials of war and the export of slaves at any of the ports already described as recently placed under German and British administration. This means very much, especially when it is accompanied by a right of search of all vessels under whatever flag—a concession obtained, though with some reluctance, from France. Of course, if the Arab dealers find that they can no longer send slaves to the markets of Arabia and the Persian Gulf, they will cease to hunt them. The efficiency of this means depends, therefore, on its completeness, and it is with a view to this remark that the vast extent of the coast from Suakin to Delagoa Bay has been described. The portion to which the Anglo-German agreement relates is only 600 miles,—certainly the portion where the trade till now has been most active, but leaving very large tracts both to the north and the south. As to the northern portion, from Mombasa to Suakin, Italy at Massowah is joining in the blockade; and our repressive measures in the Red Sea have been rendered more effective since the slave force made its determined attack on Suakin. There is serious work before the Powers in this matter for some years, but it is free from complications and needs only sustained vigilance. One can hardly say as much about the long stretch of coast southwards, from Lindi and Kilwa to Delagoa Bay. So late as September and October 1888, at least, a brisk trade was carried on between Lindi and the north end of Madagascar, in vessels using French papers. Whether the slaves were detained there, or were sent on to the older markets in larger vessels, we do not yet know. Many are used on the French sugar plantations. But so lately as the 2nd or 3rd of November, Lieutenant Fitzherbert, in H.M.S. *Algerine*, chased a dhow containing 200 slaves, drove it ashore on the north coast of Madagascar, and captured it; but he could set free only 27 out of the 200, the rest being instantly seized and carried inland by the Malagasy natives (Sakalavas). This is a matter requiring some sort of explanation. The British public should keep its eyes and ears open for what may emerge any day as

the blockade proceeds, tending to shed light on the attitude of France; and in the meantime, the following sentences from the last papers laid before Parliament deserve to be carefully read.

*'The extension of French influence in Madagascar and the Comoro Islands,'* says Lord Salisbury to Sir E. Malet on November 5th, 1888, *'has added another element to the causes by which the Slave Trade has been stimulated. The French are as anxious as any other Christian nation to destroy this traffic, but the naval force by which they are represented in those seas is very small; and they have always refused to give to other nations that right of arresting and searching suspicious vessels which is essential to prevent the French flag from being used for the purpose of evading it. Our cruisers, therefore, have been obliged to look on while Arab dhows, flying the French flag and evidently carrying slaves, have passed outwards under their guns with impunity.'*

This is highly suggestive. How were these papers got? Why did France grant them? Why is she jealous of search? Where do the slaves go? Our Foreign Secretary says nothing about these points, though it is obviously not for want of information that he is silent; but in the same dispatch he mentions with unconcealed satisfaction, what he dwelt on also in his speech, that *'it has been possible, in view of the present exigencies, to remove for the first time the most formidable obstacle which exists to the suppression of the present Slave Trade, namely, the refusal of France to agree to a mutual right of search. The French Government, though unwilling to grant the right of search on all occasions and in all cases, has consented that it shall be looked upon as one of the incidents of a blockade.'*\*

Another element which might tend to deprive the blockade of that completeness on which its success depends, is the attitude of Portugal. If that Power does not join in the good work, or if it refuses to our cruisers the right of search, then the Arabs will be only slightly inconvenienced, by no means

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\* Correspondence respecting Suppression of the Slave Trade in East African Waters. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. November 1888. pp. 3, 4.

checked, in their lawless operations. With reference to this, Count Hatzfeldt says (in the Papers just quoted, p. 2):

'As the traffic in slaves and arms, and the hostility of the slave merchants extend to the Portuguese coast line adjoining Zanzibar, it will be useful and desirable to obtain the co-operation of Portugal, and her consent to the extension of the blockade to the portion of the coast belonging to that Power.'

And Lord Salisbury, in replying two days later, (November 5th) says:—

'As the Slave Trade, and the preparations of the traders who conduct it, extend to the neighbouring Portuguese Dominions, it would be advantageous and desirable to obtain the co-operation of Portugal, and the consent of that Power to the extension of the blockade to the Portuguese coast.'

It would have been satisfactory to find after these passages, a dispatch from Lisbon granting our natural wish. No such paper is printed while I write; but the following sentences from a long communication addressed to the Geographical Society of Lisbon, by Baron de Barros Gomes, Foreign Minister of Portugal, may be taken as expressing the attitude of that Power:—

'The eloquent voice, that of conviction, of a prelate who is the glory of France . . . is to-day moving all Europe, seeking to hurry on the happy moment in which the horrors of the trade which threatens to depopulate the interior of the Great Dark Continent shall have an end. Portugal can and should unite herself with any efforts and practical attempts undertaken in this generous and most Christian direction. . . . To the labourers of civilization and of the faith, who are pledged to favour the movement which it is proposed to inaugurate in Europe, the support and sympathies of Portugal will certainly not be wanting.'

Words could not be better. It is a curious comment on them to find it stated in a note to the new edition of Mr. Stevenson's *Slave Map*, 'with regard to the routes leading westward into Portuguese territory, Mr. Ravenstein states that the slaves are set free *after seven years' forced labour*.' We take it that Germany and Britain mean to look after the Portuguese coast of Africa.\*

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\* The Papers laid before Parliament in the end of December, 'Africa,



The blockade, however, does not meet all the requirements of the case. It represents all that the Powers of Europe can well do; and it forms a great essential part of the operation necessary for the liberation of Africa. But a physician is not content to stop a sore on the surface: he seeks to remove the peccant humours from the blood. It is far from the seaboard that the first horrors are enacted, and it is quite probable that the Arabs might for years to come continue their cruel oppression in the interior, gathering and storing ivory in hope of finding after a while that our vigilance has been relaxed, as once before it has been, or that they might acquire strength to force Pangani and Kilwa, as they tried to force Suakin. It is necessary that there should enter and pervade Africa power sufficient to encounter and overcome the oppressors. The idea of sending in European armies is out of the question: there are no armies to meet our military expeditions

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No. 10, 1888, close with the following communication to our Ambassador at Lisbon:—

‘Foreign Department, Lisbon, Nov. 18, 1888.

‘Your Excellency,—The Government of his Most Faithful Majesty appreciate the humanitarian intentions and the high political views which dictated the Agreement signed by the Governments of Great Britain and Germany, to which your Excellency refers in your note of the 16th of last November.

‘Portugal having been invited by the two Governments to join with them in their endeavours, by co-operating in the suppression of the slave trade and by preventing the importation of arms, *gives her assent in principle* to the extension for that purpose of the blockade to be carried out on the East Coast of Africa, so that the blockade *may comprise a part* of the coast of Mozambique; it must, however, in the last-named region, be *exclusively enforced by the Portuguese naval forces*, and with this object His Majesty’s Government will duly increase the number of vessels of which the naval division on the East Coast of Africa is composed.

‘Trusting that *the prompt assent* on the part of Portugal, in the terms above set forth, to the invitation addressed to her by the two Governments will be considered by them as a token of regard and friendship.

‘I have, etc.,

‘(Signed)

BARROS GOMES.’

This seems nearly worthless, and creates serious suspicion that Portugal is more involved with the slave trade than is commonly thought.—Jan. 7, 1889.

if they were sent, but only roving bands of ruffians, who are rapidly demoralizing the tribes which they do not enslave. Armies would terrify the natives whom we wish to protect, and would eat up their substance. It is a police force that is wanted, such as the strongest Quaker must approve, to disarm and capture the marauders; and for this purpose a very small number of Europeans, picked men with good leaders, who would train the natives to self-defence, having gunboats on all the lakes and a few handy Hotchkiss guns on the land spaces, would be sufficient. There seems a reasonable prospect of such work being undertaken with thoroughness and determination. Mr. Horace Waller was the first to propose a cruiser for Nyasa, and a seven-pounder has been sent out already to aid the African Lakes Company in destroying the Arab stockade at the north end of the Lake. Cardinal Lavigerie proposes cruisers for Tanganika, and has got a large portion of the money needed to buy them. He is also enlisting a band of one hundred Belgian volunteers to work them,—a number amply sufficient. Commander Cameron, in a letter to the *Times*, on September 28th, develops this plan at some length, and says that, after going into details of expense with care, he does not find that the cost of establishing an interior line of blockade, from the Shiré in the South to Wadelai (Emin's province) in the North, would be greater than that of some expeditions already sent into Africa. Public benevolence would, we trust, furnish the money if once the scheme were fairly placed before the country, a responsible society formed, and one or more first-rate leaders found. Cameron himself, at the close of the passionate appeal he prints in *Good Words* (passionate, but not a whit too strong), says, 'I am ready to act up to what I write, and would freely give my life in the cause of freedom, and will gladly co-operate in any possible manner, either here or in Africa, with those who I trust will resolve that this disgrace to humanity shall no longer exist.' He is busy just now stirring up interest in various parts of the country. Other fit leaders will, no doubt, appear as the preparations go on, Lieutenant Wissman, for instance, who is now not likely to be needed for the German Emin Relief

Expedition, or Sir Charles Warren, who has experience of South African administration. The combination of qualities required is not very common—health, pluck, temper, administrative faculty, with a high Christian *morale*; but there are such men to be found. While others are planning, the Scotchmen have begun to act. In Mr. Moir's article already referred to it is said that 'the Nyasa Anti-Slavery and Defence Fund has been started to undertake the task of repelling the Arab aggressors. It is proposed to send men, both naval and military, to drill the natives and organize an effective force. Ammunition and guns, including artillery, will be provided, and fortified stations erected at important points on the Stevenson Road.' Well done! If the larger operations are carried out, these steps already taken with a promptitude which cannot be too highly praised will be found helpful in no small degree; and the magnificent waterway, which the reader has, we trust, got fixed in his imagination, will become a source of liberty and strength to the whole of Central Africa.

There is one condition, however, of these hopes being realised which must never be lost sight of, the keeping open of the Zambesi for the use of all nations. It is only by that way, at least for several years to come, that the Lakes can be reached. Now the mouths of the Zambesi are in the hands of Portugal, and in the letter of Baron Gomes already quoted the preposterous claim of that country to possess the whole of the Nyasa region and more is once again set forth. Even on the coast the natives (Laudeens, a Zulu tribe) hold their own and force the Portuguese to pay black mail; (an instance is reported in the newspapers of Nov. 16th), and beyond the confluence of the Rua and the Shiré, a hundred miles inland, not a single Portuguese has ever been! It was by Livingstone that Nyasa was discovered, and by British subjects alone, missionaries and traders, has the region been exploited. How ridiculous the claim is, Professor Drummond has shewn, *racily*, in his recent book.\* The exposure by Mr. Oswald Crawford is even more damaging, who tells us that the last Portuguese *White Book*

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\* *Tropical Africa*, pp. 203-221.

contains a map in which the whole breadth of Africa, from Mozambique on the east to Angola on the west is coloured Portuguese, and adds, 'if the area of continental Portugal were painted upon the map of this huge mockery of an acquisition it would show no bigger than a small caterpillar creeping over the paper.'\*

The state of mind which can produce these cumbrous jests is probably harmless, and those who are in earnest about entering Africa for work in the direction of redeeming it, will not find that they are long or seriously hindered. Still it is annoying to find the Kilimane officials seizing a steamer of the Lakes Company because it was not owned and officered by Portuguese, as they did last spring, and only giving way under pressure from our Foreign Office. But, on the other hand, as already stated, Commander Cameron assures us that the Marquis of Salisbury had pledged himself the Zambesi shall not be closed, and the genuine British earnestness which breathes in his dispatches gives us confidence that means will be found of making Portugal understand that medieval conceits, resting on remote poetical traditions and not accompanied by the least attempt to fulfil the obligations inseparable from the claim of possession, will not be allowed to hinder the work to which Europe is setting itself in the name of our common humanity.†

When the blockade on the coast and the police patrolling the lakes in the interior have done their work, the way will be open for the regeneration of Central Africa. And there are certain beginnings made in this direction, which, once the manstealing iniquity is removed, furnish a hopeful prospect in the not distant future. These are five in number.

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\* *Nineteenth Century*, September, 1888.

† The Portuguese have sent up a strong expedition with the purpose, it is feared, of claiming the thriving settlement at Blantyre, near the South end of Nyasa; and an alarmed appeal has been made by the Scottish Churches and the Lakes Company to Lord Salisbury. He assures the memorialists that 'the matter is engaging the earnest attention of the Government.' In his speech at Ayr since the new year began, Sir James Ferguson promised that the government would not be slow to resist this encroachment with all 'the resources of diplomacy and of a great empire'.

First, in order of magnitude, if not of time, is the Congo Free State. The formal foundation of this enterprize was laid in the Berlin Conference, which sat from November 1884 to February 1885, under the presidency of Prince Bismarck, and in which elaborate articles were framed and signed by the plenipotentiaries of Britain, Germany, Austria, Belgium, the United States, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Spain, France, Italy, Holland, Portugal, Russia and Turkey. By these a territory of three millions of square miles, forming the basin of the great river discovered by Stanley, is constituted a sovereign state under Leopold, King of the Belgians, who had already invested in its formation half a million sterling of his private fortune. One article must be quoted :—

‘Article 9. Seeing that trading in slaves is forbidden in conformity with the principles of international law as recognized by the signatory Powers, and seeing also that *the operations which, by sea or land, furnish slaves to trade, ought likewise to be regarded as forbidden*; so, therefore, the Powers which do or shall exercise sovereign rights or influence in the territories forming the conventional basin of the Congo, declare that these territories may not serve as a market or means of transit for the trade in slaves, of whatever race they may be. *Each of the Powers binds itself to employ all the means at its disposal* for putting an end to this trade and for punishing those who engage in it.’

If the reader will look back a page or two, he will find a painful commentary on this nobly worded article, for the descriptions of Stanley and Wissman, that have been quoted to illustrate the hideous atrocities of the Arabs, relate to this region. The position of the Congo State, while we write, is such as to call forth sincere sympathy towards those who have the responsibility of administering its affairs. They seem to have formed by far too slight an estimate of the forces of greed, treachery and untruth with which they have to contend, and the truth has been brought home to them with terrible severity in the assassination of Barttelot, and the utter ruin of the expedition he was leading. Let us hope, however, that order will be once more established, and the triumphing of the arch-villain, Tipoo Tib, made short. If there are not resources enough about the Congo State to secure this, its establishment will prove a huge fiasco and a crime. When Stanley emerges again, things will take a turn for the

better; and meanwhile he has accomplished a noble feat in marching across those 400 miles of hitherto unknown territory which separate the Aruhwimi from Wadelai, territory of which he spoke in his last interview with Cardinal Manning as the neck of the slave trade. The world awaits his next movement with intense interest. Our guess is that, having discovered the serious disaster caused by the murder of Barttelot and the scattering of the supplies for which he has been waiting these twelve months, he will collect what he can with all haste and still carry out his purpose of marching through Uganda and Masai Land (the new British territory) to the East Coast at Mombasa.

Next to the Congo State, as a civilizing influence already in operation, is Emin Pasha's State of Wadelai, embracing the Albert Lake and extending north on the Nile—how far we cannot tell. He is the only one of the lieutenants placed by Gordon in the Soudan who has been able to hold his ground; and in the deeply interesting letters sent by him to Dr. Felkin, published in the *Scotsman* in June last, he appeared as growing his own cotton and weaving it into material for clothes and sails, as having two steamers on the lake and boats on the Nile, and as keeping at bay the dervishes of the north.\* Uganda ought to furnish an outlet for communication with Europe, but the malignant influence is, for the present, maintaining a black cordon all round that territory; but this will not last very long if there is any reality and pith about the proposals on the side of humanity. As it is even, and still more in the possibilities it affords when again brought into touch with Europe, this territory of Emin is a bright and hopeful spot on the map of the Dark Continent.

Turning our eyes now from the North to the far South, we find the African Lakes' Company, to which reference has been made more than once. Founded in 1876 by men of capital and high standing in the West of Scotland, it has held its own these twelve years against the fretting impositions of the Portuguese on the coast, and the attacks of the slavers in the interior. The capital

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\* The wonderful telegrams which arrived on December 21st describe him as rich in ivory and food, and the second of them states that he is with Stanley at Bonalya on the Aruhwimi.



invested in its vessels, its twelve stations, and in roadmaking, is stated at £180,000. It has carried the *Charles Jansen* from the Thames to the east side of Nyasa for the Universities' Mission, and the *Good News* from the Mersey to Tanganika for the London Missionary Society; and serves these societies and the Missions of the Church of Scotland and the Free Church in all matters of postage and supplies. Only because its stores were filled with ivory for which the Arabs had not yet got paid, were these stores saved from attack in the assault made last spring. The Company is said, by those who ought to know, to be sure to become a commercial success as soon as it is allowed fair play; and that the men who are interested in it have no intention of letting themselves be beaten, is proved by the prompt vigour with which the Defence Fund has been organized. Here then is a third civilizing influence from which, when the present acute crisis is past, many wholesome influences for Eastern Africa may be expected. Twelve years is not a long time, and the Company has men with long heads, long purses and right hearts at its back. I must not fail to mention that it has consistently refused to import ardent spirits.

The fourth and fifth of the enterprizes lately entered on, and which we may expect to do much for Eastern Africa, are the German and the British Companies, whose possessions have been described on a former page. Of the German portion it is impossible to say anything as yet. Acquired only in August last, its history has been one of disaster, and its condition one of chaos. While I write, there are daily rumours of the Company being liquidated, of a new Company being formed, and of proposals to 'take the breeks off a Heilandman' in demands for compensation being made on the Sultan who, poor man, has nothing to pay with. Meanwhile Germany is resolved to get sure possession; and she has learned a lesson as to the character of the manstealers and the conditions of African colonization, which will not be lost. Let the Germans receive our cordial sympathy: jealousy in any case would be unworthy, and, in the present case, is mean and un-British. When the Germans do get into the lands they have procured, they will do well to forbid the import of spirits as well as arms.

The territory of the Imperial British East African Company is as yet peaceful, and the steps which are being taken to colonize it are marked by cautious wisdom and the strength of very large resources. The charter granted to it by Queen Victoria on September 7, 1888, is a remarkable document, as proving that those concerned in the craving and the granting of it clearly 'mean business.' The suppression of the slave trade is provided for; the administration of law has been thought out; 'banks, roads, railways, telegraphs, mining, and other industries,' are spoken of as things distinctly contemplated; regulations are laid down to prevent the extinction of elephants,—and so forth. The capital required to start the enterprize was fixed at a quarter of a million sterling, and was subscribed privately by thirty-five persons. Mr. William Mackinnon, C.I.E., than whom no man has done more in the wise and enterprising use of wealth for British India and for Africa, is the Chairman, and with him in the management are such men as Lord Brassey, Sir Donald Stewart, Sir John Kirk, Mr. Burdett-Coutts, and Mr. George S. Mackenzie, Sir Francis de Winton being the Honorary Secretary. Treaties have been carefully made as far as possible with native tribes in the interior, and Lieutenant Swayne has gone in, with a strong caravan, to make more. We have for many years now, since Krapf and Rebmann began missionary work at Mombasa more than forty years ago, seen a steady growth of British influence on the coast, and Frere Town and Rabai are places where the effects of civilizing efforts toward natives and liberated slaves can be seen. There have been trading caravans going all through the territory for a long time, but until Mr. Joseph Thomson, in 1885, gave us the brilliant record of his adventures in Masai Land, it was hardly known. Reading that book a second time one gets a lively impression of the splendid work to which the new Company is addressing itself. The coast-line, it seems, is not so unhealthy as the coast-line of Africa generally is; but after that is passed, the mountains, rivers, and lakes, the pasture lands supporting innumerable flocks so that large tracks are literally flowing with milk and honey, the game big and little, and the rolling plateaus capable of yielding any quantity of wheat, prove that the founders of this new undertaking have

'considered the field' before buying it. Kilimanjaro, made famous by Thomson and H. H. Johnston, is in the portion assigned to Germany, but the Aberdare Range and Mount Kenia, 18,780 feet above the sea, are in the British territory. The natives in some parts are friendly, and amenable to good influences, and the Masai, the warriors, can be reckoned with. Till native labour can be trained, the necessary supply can be drawn from British India, many merchants from thence being already settled on the Zanzibar coast, and now crowding into Mombasa. The uplands suited for the growth of wheat are within one day's railway journey of the coast, and the calculation is that thus Kenia-land (to suggest a short name) may outstrip India in the grain market. The Company means to render itself independent of the Arabs, and, though I do not find it so said, we may assume that it also intends to exclude the shortsighted and destructive traffic in spirits.\*

The point to which my eye turns most wistfully is not Taveita or any other of those lovely spots which Mr. H. H. Johnston has described so charmingly. It is the frontier of this territory farthest from the sea, where it touches the waters of Victoria Nyanza and the confines of Uganda. Not till it has placed steam on the former, not till it has penetrated the latter and opened a safe road to Wadelai and the Nile, will the civilizing mission of this strong Company be accomplished. When Stanley started from the Aruhwimi it was with the hope that he would come down through this region to Mombasa. Let us trust that he may yet do so, and that Mr. Swayne and his caravan, if they do not meet him, will succeed in opening a way through Uganda and that mysterious rim of thick and horrible darkness which

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\* Notwithstanding all the prudence and quietness of its operations, this great Company seems not able to escape from the difficulties created by the very debased state of public opinion existing in Zanzibar and on the coast. Even those traders who are our fellow subjects, and some of them our fellow countrymen, have been hitherto indirectly connected with the slave trade, and the startling statements published by the *Manchester Guardian* in the end of the year, bring home to the British public what we might have looked for. The Indian merchants do not understand yet our decided anti-slavery feelings. The Company, however, seems to have clean hands.

seems to run from Hannington's grave to near Stanley Falls, immediately north of the equator. That point gained, and the road kept open from the Nile to Mombasa, Europe might be said to have a bowstring on the neck of the Slave Trade, for that is the heart of Africa, and there the red lines of blood meet that represent its present misery.

An attempt has thus been made to give a succinct view of the present position of a vast portion of the earth's surface occupied by at least 120 millions of our fellows, and to indicate the elements of a reasonable hope for its being brought, in the course of another generation, under the influence of Christian civilization. The blockade is begun, the police are going in to occupy the Central Lakes, colonization is entering from the South and the North, from the West and from the East. The one danger is, that we shall be satisfied with a little spurt of philanthropic emotion, and shall not realize the absolute need there is for resolute, sustained, unwearying effort.

A. M. S.

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#### NOTE TO ARTICLE V.

Since this article was written, public attention has been called to the establishment of an Episcopal School at Crieff, and it may be thought that that incident conflicts with the statement that the religious education difficulty in Scotland has been solved. But the agitation at Crieff is really the conspicuous exception which proves the rule, and the statement by the headmaster of the Board school that 'he had never had any complaint from Episcopalians regarding the religious instruction given to their children' confirms the statement that as a rule they have no objection to the Shorter Catechism, and shows that in Scotland as in England it is not the people, but only their ecclesiastical and political leaders, who make the doctrinal instruction of children under 14 of such vast and disastrous importance.

J. E. G.

## SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

## GERMANY.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. Erstes Heft, 1889. —Dr. F. C. Achelis of Marburg gives us a series of 'Studien über das geistliche Amt,' which are intended to explain and justify the use of the epithet 'geistliche' to the clergy, the service of worship, and the religious office generally.—Dr. J. Dräseke, under the title 'Athanasiana,' takes up the two books included among the works of Athanasius, that are directed against Appollinarios of Laodicea, and subjects them to a careful and scholarly examination, the result of which is that he comes to the following conclusions: 1st, that they are not the work of one author; 2nd, that Athanasius did not write them; and 3rd, that they hail from Alexandria, and were probably written by Didymus and his pupil Ambrosius.—Dr. Becker writes on the composition of the Gospel according to John; Dr. Häring of Zürich on the conception of the Atonement, 'zum Begriff der Sühne'; Professor Bredenkamp on Habakkuk, ii. 4; and Professor Kamphausen reviews Stade's 'Geschichte des Volkes Israel,' Renan's 'Histoire du peuple d'Israel,' vol. I., and Kittel's 'Geschichte der Hebräer.'

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. 1889: Zweites Heft.—Dr. Usteri of Affoltern and Privat-Dozent at Zürich subjects the Epistle of James, especially chap. ii., 14-26, to a minute, critical and exegetical study.—'Glaube, Werke, und Rechtfertigung im Jakobusbrief'—in order to precisely determine what the writer really understood by πίστις, ἔργα, and δικαιοσύνη, and then puts this writer's conceptions as to these points in contrast to the Pauline idea of them, to show that they involve no real contradiction.—Dr. Koppel discusses the origin of the Christian Apostolate as witnessed to in the New Testament writings, to bring out the idea of inspiration involved in these.—Professor Zimmer of Königsberg deals with the vexed question of the 'Itala'—the version so called by Augustine. He modestly describes his elaborate and learned paper, 'Ein Blick in die Entwicklungsgeschichte der Itala.'—Dr. Tschackert furnishes five 'Kleine Beiträge zu Luthers Leben.'—The books reviewed are Professor Franz Delitzsch's 'New Commentary on Genesis,' and Tholuck's 'Life' by Prof. Witte.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU. October, November, December.—The first of these three numbers opens with a contribution to which the wide celebrity which it acquired immediately on its publication, makes it unnecessary further to refer, we mean the 'Extracts from the Emperor Frederick's Diary.—Neither is there any call to do more than merely mention the article entitled 'A Literary-Political Association,' as it is a chapter from the second volume of the memoirs of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, a work which has since then made its appearance in an English version and been made familiar to most readers by copious extracts.—In a most able paper Professor Geffcken considers the various reforms which it has been proposed to introduce in the House of Lords. Believing not only that a second chamber is an absolute necessity, but also that the English House of Peers is by far the best institution of the kind to be found anywhere, he deprecates anything like a radical change. The only reforms which he considers practically possible and advantageous are, firstly, the exclusion of 'black sheep;' secondly, the creation of a certain number of life peerages; and lastly, the fixing of a certain age—thirty—before which no peer should be entitled to a seat.—Herr Eduard Hauslick communicates twenty letters written by Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy to Aloys Fuchs. They chiefly refer to the collection of musical autographs to which Fuchs devoted himself, and together with the explanations and short biographical notices which the editor supplies, make up a very readable contribution.—In 'Aus dem Hochgebirge,' which runs through two numbers, Herr Paul Gülsfeldt, gives an account of an Alpine journey undertaken by him in 1887. The articles are not only interesting for the descriptions which they contain, but also in the highest degree valuable for the instructions which the experience of years enables the writer to set down, and which, if followed, should help to diminish the number of Alpine accidents.—The most readable item in the November part is Herr W. Preyer's 'Darwin.' It is an exceedingly able summary of the 'Life and Letters,' and cannot fail to interest those who are unacquainted with the original work.—'Berlin and German Music,' of which Freiherr von Liliencrou is the author, shows a thorough knowledge of the subject, but can scarcely be said to appeal to a very wide circle, in this country at least, nor, for that matter, in Germany either.—In a very long and well-meaning but rather solid paper, Herr Julius Lessing pleads for the State patronage and State subsidy of the Industrial Arts.—Though unfortunately too short, the autobiographical fragment 'Nachgelassene Blätter von Theodor Storm,' will be read with great interest, not only for the information which it contains with regard to the writer's early



years, but also as being the last page that he ever wrote.—‘Tokio-Tgaku’ which, being translated, means ‘The School of Medicine of Tokio,’ is from the pen of Dr. Leopold Müller, and contains a most interesting and, in many parts, amusing account of the difficulties which he had to encounter in his task of founding this institution. The sketch he gives of the state of things which he found existing on his arrival is particularly good. Some idea of it may be formed from what he states of the work expected of him. It was supposed that he would appear at the Academy at eight o’clock every morning, bringing his breakfast with him, and remain there till five o’clock in the afternoon, for the purpose of answering any questions which the students might feel inclined to put to him. His announcement that he intended to bestow only four hours daily to lecturing and on set subjects, was received with astonishment and almost indignation. When, in addition to this, it was found that he required to consult books and used notes for his lectures, matters seemed serious enough to justify official inquiry into his competency for the work he had undertaken.—The essay entitled ‘Frederick the Great and the Italians,’ is neither very important nor very interesting; its professed object, which is to show that the hearty sympathy at present existing between Germany and Italy can be traced back to the time of Frederick, is a sufficient indication of the spirit in which it is written.—The first instalment of Herr Gustav Cohn’s sketch of the life of Lord Shaftesbury is a conscientious piece of work, though it naturally contains nothing but what most English readers are already familiar with.—The light literature for the quarter consists of Herr Conrad Mähly’s ‘Albigenserin,’ which is complete in two parts, and of the first instalment of what promises to be a very powerful novel, Herr Ossip Schubin’s ‘Boris Lensky.’

**WESTERMANN’S MONATS-HEFTE.** October, November, December.—The October and November numbers both give a conspicuous place to Herr Georg Horn’s sketch of the late Emperor William. On the more important events, which numberless biographies have made familiar, it lays but little stress, but it contains a number of anecdotes which to most readers will not be less acceptable. Its interest is enhanced by five excellent portraits.—Running through the same two numbers there is an excellent description of the environs of Vienna. The writer, Herr Edward Zetsche, shows not only an intimate acquaintance with the country, but also a thorough knowledge of its history, and both combined help to make a most readable and instructive paper.—Not inferior in its way is the account which Herr Richard Garbe gives of a journey to India, in the course of which he

visited Bombay, Elephanta Ahmedabab, Jeypur, Delhi, and Agra. The former of these papers has twenty-eight, the latter twenty-three excellent illustrations.—Another very attractive production of the same kind is that for which Herr Gerhard Rohlfs has gathered materials during visits to two of the three islands which are connected with the name of Napoleon—St. Helena and Elba.—The history of the Munich Academy of the Fine Arts during the last thirty years is pleasantly told by Herr Moriz Carriere who, in his subject, finds the opportunity of sketching the careers of the two Kaulbachs and Piloty, of whom capital portraits are given.—‘Charlotte von Schiller,’ a rather hackneyed theme, is not unreadable, but contains nothing new; neither do the few pages in which Herr Pajeken gives a sketch of life on an American ranche.—The single complete article in the November part is an historical sketch in which Herr Rudolph Scipio relates the unsuccessful attempts made by Doernberg, in 1809, to seize King Jerome. It is an interesting and valuable contribution towards a history of the short-lived kingdom of Westphalia.—Herr Woldt begins in the second and ends in the third of this quarter’s numbers an able and instructive account of the exploration, by Wissman and his companions, of the immense tract of interior Africa drained by the Kassai and its numerous tributaries. The writer’s excellent descriptions, aided by a series of sketches and a particularly good map bring this hitherto unknown district most vividly before the reader.—A short but pleasant and lively paper by Herr Riedel describes the festivities with which the Chinese in America celebrate Soeri-Nin, or their New-Year.—Finally, a lengthy but most enjoyable and instructive article by Herr Paul Jonas Meier enters into minute particulars concerning the manner in which the gladiatorial games were organized and carried out under the Roman emperors.

**PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER.** October, November, December.—Notable amongst the contributions which these three numbers bring before us is that bearing the signature of Vice-Admiral Batsch and containing a sketch of the history of the German navy. Practically, it is a summary, and a pretty full one, too, as the article extends to some forty pages, of the career of Prince Adalbert of Prussia, to whose energy it is mainly due that, within less than forty years, a powerful navy has been called into existence.—Considering the length of time which has elapsed since a reform of the system of direct taxation in Prussia was first suggested, it may be doubted whether the question is looked upon as one of paramount interest even by those whom it most nearly concerns. At any rate, it is scarcely likely that English

readers will think it worth their while to follow Dr. Strutz through the very detailed and rather heavy study which he devotes to an examination of the subject and to a statement of the special points towards which future legislation should be directed.—The chief attraction of Dr. Delbrück's article 'The Diary of the Emperor Frederick' lies in the title. Those who turn to the five short pages in which the publication of this famous document is discussed are likely to be disappointed. The writer's object is to prove that such productions cannot be properly estimated by contemporaries and that it was consequently most inopportune and most prejudicial to the memory of the late Emperor that his diary should have been communicated to the present generation instead of being reserved for posterity.—A little more than twelve months ago there appeared in Berlin a work in which Herr Conrad set himself the task of enlightening his countrymen as to Thackeray, who, strange to say, whilst Dickens, George Eliot, and others less worthy of notice, are as familiar in Germany as they are amongst us, is almost unknown to the general public. The sub-title, it is true,—'Ein Pessimist als Dichter,'—might awaken some suspicion, but it could scarcely prepare the reader for the conclusion arrived at, to wit, that 'Thackeray is not a great writer.' The verdict has not been allowed to pass unchallenged, and its fallacy has been exposed in an able review the writer of which shows such a thorough knowledge and unbiassed appreciation of the novelist's works that it is matter for genuine regret that his study has not taken a more imposing form than that of a magazine article. Comparatively short as it necessarily is, it will, however, give German readers a better and fairer idea of the author of *Vanity Fair* and *Esmond* than such a one-sided work as Conrad's.—Another literary essay which will well repay perusal is that which has for its subject the Abbé de Saint-Pierre, a man who though but little known and probably never read now-a-days, was not without influence on the philosophical movement of the 18th century. It is possible, however, to think less highly than does Herr Edward Herz of the man who, when on his death-bed, in order to please his family, accepted all the ministrations of a priest, and then informed him that he had been merely acting a farce.—In a short, but clever and incisive article, Herr Robert Hessen, throws well-deserved ridicule on the efforts of the purists who, in their anxiety to rid the German language of French words and expressions, have undertaken a complete reform of the military instruction-book, and whose patriotism requires the banishment of, for example, 'Autorität' and 'Bureau,' and the adoption in their stead of 'Befehlsbefugniß' and 'Geschäftsstube.'—The spirit in which

Dr. Didolff's article 'A Glance at the Past and Future of Poland' is written may be gathered from his concluding exclamation, 'A Polish Poland would be Poland's death; a German Poland would be Poland's salvation!'—The essay headed 'The Fall of the Templars' is but an analysis and summary of Dr. Schottmüller's important work on the same subject, but it is excellently done, and, if it cannot altogether satisfy, may help to console those who have not had the advantage of reading the original.

#### ITALY.

ARCHIVIO STORICO PER LE PROVINCE NAPOLITANE. Year XIII., fascicle 3.—G. Abignente gives an account of 'Le Chartulae Fraternitatis' and the book of the 'Confrates' of the Salernitan Church, an important and inedited parchment.—M. Schifa writes *apropos* of the expected edition by Dr. G. Baist, of Amatos' 'Ystoire.'—E. Cocchia commences an article, describing the topography of the ancient city of Naples under the title of 'Virgil's Tomb.'—G. de Blasiis writes on the trial and execution of Pomponius de Algerio of Nola under Paul IV., giving the original Latin documents.

GIORNALE STORICO DELLA LETTERATURA ITALIANA. Vol. XII., 34-35.—Contains biographical notes by E. Percopo, founded on original documents, on Marc Anton Epicuro, a Neapolitan poet, who, born at the end of the fifteenth century, lived till the middle of the sixteenth. Palmarini was the first to draw the attention of scholars to this poet. The article enters into the subject with all the thoroughness of an Italian man of science, devoting no less than eight pages to the discussion of the poet's name, whose life and works are then examined.—E. Costa edits the text, and notes the variants of the 'Parmense Codex' of 1081.—V. Valamani contributes an interesting article on the popular poetry, mostly love songs, of Venice in the seventeenth century, giving numerous examples in the dialect. He calls attention to the fact that the truth and naturalness of these songs disappeared in the productions of the following century, when popular poetry was affected. Some of the most curious of the specimens given are satires on the fashions. In one the poet compares the women's heads with melons; in another the men are blamed for spending all their money in love-gifts and frolics, and putting off their creditors from day to day. In another, again, the custom of making love from the street to girls in the balconies (which was derived from Spain and continues to this day) forms the subject. At that time it seems

that fowls were considered poetic birds, for they are the frequent subject of poetical effusions. Of course the gondolas, lagoons, and canals, play a great part in these songs, and the specimens close with one commemorating a Venetian superstition; the apparition of a 'moor of Japan,' who wanders through the streets, frightening maidens, and playing tricks upon the youths.—F. Novati edits and explains some Latin letters by Bartolomeo da Castell della Pieve, a rhymmer and grammarian of the thirteenth century.—A. Neri contributes notes on two curious books of the seventeenth century; the 'Alcibiade Fanciallo a Scola,' now ascertained to have been written by Don Antonio Rocco, and the first edition of 'La Grillaia,' by Padre Angelico Aprosio.

ARCHIVIO STORICO ITALIANO. Fourth issue for 1888.—The most interesting article is by Eugène Müntz, giving an account of Giovanni di Bartolo da Siena, one of the Italian artists employed at the Pontifical Court of Avignon in the fourteenth century. 'The number of Italians established on the banks of the Rhone,' says M. Müntz, 'might have made one believe himself to be living in Rome.' Giovanni di Bartolo was till now but little known to us moderns, but he made a considerable figure under Urban V., Gregory XI., and the anti-Pope Clement VII. He accompanied Pope Urban to Rome, where he became the author, among other masterpieces, of the celebrated reliquary on which rests the immortality of his name, with the busts of St. Peter and St. Paul, which was for so long a time the ornament of the Lateran. The expense of this marvellous piece of goldsmith's work was estimated by contemporaries at 30,000 florins. The two busts were destroyed in 1799. Bartolo must have returned with Urban to Avignon, for we find him there at the beginning of the reign of Gregory XI., for whom he worked as gold and silversmith, executing the golden roses sent annually by the Pope to some prince or other high personage. Among these was the golden rose sent to the son of the Duke of Andrea in 1375, that to the King of Armenia in 1383, and that to one Giovanni de Serre, a relation of the prefect of Rome, in 1385. The most important work executed by di Bartolo, during Gregory's pontificate, was a reliquary for the arm of St. Andrew, which cost more than 2,566 florins. In Catania there still exist two notable works by this artist, the statue of St. Agatha, and the shrine containing her relics.—A. Virgili, in the bibliographical review, gives a full account of the two new volumes of Creighton's *History of the Papacy*, giving the work the highest praise, from which some little inexactness does not detract.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA. Oct. 16th.—Here we have a clever

article by R. Fornaciari on 'Fashionable Phrases and Metaphors, in which he quotes the number of grand, scientific, or abstract words and phrases used about quite common things. He comes to the conclusion that our century, in this, too much resembles the sixteenth, when there also existed great abuse of figures of speech, which afterwards was ridiculed. Anyone who studies the titles of books, and notices the effort made to invent something extravagant, will surely be reminded of that period of affectation. We, of the present day, instead of trying to render our meaning in a clear and simple manner, do our best to embody it in a phrase of similes borrowed from all the realms of knowledge.—R. Bonghi describes the recent Meetings of the British Association and their demonstration of the progress of science.—'At Sunset,' and 'Venice on French Art and Literature' are concluded.—L. Luzatti, after describing the three principal groups of Italian workmen, the Socialists, the Co-operative Societies, and the Catholic Mutual Aid Societies under the direct influence of the Vatican, concludes an interesting paper as follows:—'The Co-operative Societies, placed between the Socialists and the Clericals, possess the greatest influence in Italy, no matter to what political party they may belong. They aim at preserving that influence intact, do not allow petty discord to penetrate their ranks, and consider their mission higher than politics, which are only a means, while co-operation—which aims at a more equal distribution of economical social benefits—is the end. The Socialists and Clericals offer a thousand temptations, which are bravely resisted, and in this resistance lies the guarantee of the virtue of co-operation.—Under the title 'Types of Woman,' A. De Gubernatis begins a series of papers, taking for his first type Madame de Custine, the friend of Fouché.—The Political Review says that the toast given by William II. at the Quirinal clearly expresses that the question of the temporal power of the Pope no longer exists for Germany, and that the right of Italy to Rome is beyond dispute.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA. November 1st.—Countess Lovatello describes the origin of the Rosalia, or feast of roses, celebrated in May, mentioning ancient legends connected with the flower, and tracing the festival back to its connection with funerals and sepulchres, and describing all its modifications.—L. Palma discusses the Suez Canal, the freedom of which, he says, belongs to universal public right.—M. Scherillo commences an article, under the title of 'Accidea,' describing the evil passions mentioned in the Divine Comedy of Dante.—E. Mancini writes an interesting paper on the modification of breathing, found-



ing it on recent discoveries by scientific men.—F. d'Arcais, *apropos* of the revival of Gluck's Orpheus and Eurydice in Rome, says that the reproduction of old operas must always be given with great caution, as an unfavourable performance would consign them at once to former neglect.—(November 16th.—G. Boglietti relates the facts of the war against the Moors of Granada, which resulted in their downfall in 1492, and ultimately in their total expulsion from Spain in 1610.—Scherillo concludes his papers on the delineation of the cruel, the proud and the envious in Dante's Divine Comedy.—C. Paoli gives the history of Paper according to the last studies, saying that it may be divided into three stages, the ancient papyrus, the medieval parchment, and modern paper, grouping around them the history of human culture as related to the art of writing.—In 'Literature and the Law,' P. Fambri sums up the discussions held at the Congress in Venice.—Farina's story 'Sunset,' is continued.—The review of foreign literature is occupied with some German books.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA. December 1st.—This number contains an interesting paper by Professor Villari on the Florentine Republic in the time of Dante, chiefly founded on Villani's works.—R. de Zerbi, in an article on 'Political Parties,' points out the prejudices which exist, and describes the state of political parties in Italy.—G. Chiarini continues his analysis and partial translation into Italian prose of 'Romeo and Juliet.'—Paolo Liroy contributes a light and pleasing article on Sicily, which beautiful island, he says, is too little known to the bulk of Italians, and far more appreciated by the English, Russians and Germans.—A chapter entitled 'Milan Cathedral and the designs for the new Façade,' is part of a book by Professor Borto, to be published in January, and gives some curious particulars regarding the collection of sums of money for the building of the Cathedral in the years 1386 to 1402. The most ancient document relating to the Cathedral is one in which, on the 12th May 1386, the Archbishop of Milan called on the faithful to aid in the good work, which they did no less by actual labour than by gifts of objects and money. Processions paraded the streets petitioning the inhabitants for donations of every kind. One very poor woman deposited her old fur cloak, but a compassionate bystander bought it back for a franc and restored it to her. She then, in her zeal, helped to carry stones and earth during the building. In December 1387 there was a large sale of the objects which had been contributed; we read of iron gauntlets, cloaks, bracelets, daggers, pearl brooches, bronze mortars, cloth,

towels, table linen, silver-gilt buttons, which seem to have been a favourite article, for a certain Signora Bignola presented 48 gilded and enamelled buttons, but her husband, saying she was of weak mind, took the buttons back again and gave three florins instead. Veils were also given in quantities. A garment of scarlet stuff was sold for 448 francs, and a cloth mantle for 220 (calculating the sums in modern coin). A cloak of Venetian stuff trimmed with fur, blue and green velvet and 104 gilt buttons was one of the gifts. A string of 143 amber and 16 coral beads was not very costly, but a sapphire brought 300 francs. Pearls to the value of 16,000 francs were contributed and a duchess gave a diamond, a sapphire and an emerald ring, the three being valued at 700 francs; these were not sold but inserted in the decorations of the altar, and were exhibited to the public at Christmas in the year 1396. The year 1388 was a very sad one. Snow fell on the 25th of April, and frosts destroyed the fields. Interminable processions paraded the streets, singing and praying, and an old Chronicle relates that the sun was seen 'to emit fire, sparks and smoke like an oven, and that at other times it appeared dull and the colour of a lemon, changing in various ways.' Unknown benefactors dedicated large sums to the church, once as much as 64,000 francs.—The article contains other curious particulars.—(December 16th).—Professor Villari continues his article on the Florentine Republic, this time taking the exiles of the fourteenth century as his subject.—A. Gabelli writes on the Italian debt, giving it in round sums as follows:—

Debts of the State, - - -	£520,000,000
Debts of the Provinces, - - -	6,880,000
Debts of the Communes, - - -	35,320,000
Private Mortgages, - - -	310,360,000

G. Ghirardini writes on Cretan bronzes.—R. de Cesare, noting the increased disagreement between Italy and the Papacy, says that the gravity of the situation imposes grave duties on the Government. The peril of Radicalism, which drags it into extreme measures against its will, is not fantastic. The impulse is begun, nor does it seem that there exists strength to resist it. But some stoppage may yet be achieved. It may happen that the Catholics of Rome may desert the voting-urns in which case it would be absolutely proved that the Catholic party has factions and Jacobin tendencies.—G. Chiarini finishes his exposition of 'Romeo and Juliet.'—R. Bonghi reviews the 'Recollections' of Marco Minghette, published in Rome.—The review of foreign literature speaks with admiration of the correspondence of O'Connell edited by J. Fitz-Patrick, and of the man himself.

Speaking of the 'Anthology of Walt Whitman's poetical works,' edited by E. Rhys, the same critic says that the only American poet who can claim the title of a *genius* is Walt Whitman. In the grand and musical structure of Whitman's new strophes there seem to sound, he says, the savage murmurs of the virgin forest and the solemn rush of the Mississippi and Ohio. Sig. Nencione translates many of the most striking poems into Italian prose, and asks how is it that Whitman's name is scarcely known in France and Italy, while the easy verses of inferior American poets are read and translated, but remarks that the same thing happened not many years ago in England itself with regard to Browning, while some ten thousand persons were well acquainted with Longfellow's works. In noticing *Michelangelo* by W. Wetmore Story, the same writer says that every Italian and every artist must be grateful to the author for many of his pages. He thinks, however, that Story has not laid enough weight on the *political condition* of Italy in Michelangelo's time.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE. Oct. 16.—In 'The problem of population and the future of Italy,' A. Galanti seeks to show, in answer to a work by Herr Beloch on the Statistics of Population, that the phenomena of population offer many and varied points for consideration, and that mere statistical calculations will not suffice for such an arduous and complex study. The theory of population has great importance in the economical and civil history of the peoples, but only in a commentary sense, never as the sole explanation of that history. He concludes with an exhortation to the Italians not to give way to an idea that their noble aspirations are vain, but to confide in their own strength and future destiny.—Professor Boch discusses the teaching and study of Greek.—R. Corniani contributes the fiction of this number in a tale called 'Northern Loves.'—G. Grabinski in some notes 'From Italy to Constantinople,' gives his readers an idea of the present state of the countries lying between the two. C. F. Gabba continues his discussion of the question, 'King and Pope, or Pope-King.'—V. Pernice writes at length on the new communal and provincial laws approved by the Chamber.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE. Nov. 1.—An article by Tullio Martello describes the position of university professors in Italy and abroad, and warmly advocates the reform of the universities in Italy, as only in the arsenal of the higher studies can be found the arms of a country's power and prosperity.—R. Farrini gives a short account of optic telegraphy, opining that only one thing more is necessary, that is, to find a means of fixing the now fugitive signs of spectro-telegraphy, so as, in case of need, to be able

to control, correct, or copy them.—C. Antona-Traversi contributes an article on the classic lyrics of the second half of the eighteenth century, of which the conceptions, images, and even phrases are to be found re-appearing in Carducci's 'Levia Gravia' and 'Juvenila,' the writer promising a second article comparing Horace and Carducci.—The notes of travel in Spain by R. Corniani are continued.—'Crito,' *apropos* of Crozier's *Lord Randolph Churchill* describes the difference of conservative democracy in England and Italy, saying that the Italian conservatives have much to learn from England, and ought to study Crozier's book.—(Nov. 16).—A. Tagliaferri, noting the great disproportion existing between the science of the greater part of the Italian clergy and the exalted mission of a Catholic priest, writes on the urgent wants of the Church in Italy, and gives a description (as a true type of what a Catholic bishop should be) of Cardinal Barbadici, who lived in the seventeenth century.—A. Neri gives a short history of the Cathedral of Sarzana, which was commenced at the end of the twelfth century, and completed much later.—M. Calderini describes the works of the late Bolognese painter, Luigi Serra, advocating the institution of a 'Serra Gallery' in which to exhibit permanently the drawings and plans of that artist, whom the writer calls the first of modern reformers of art.—A. Golfarelli writes an account of the two Congresses held this year at Venice.—In concluding an article on the Journal of Emperor Frederick, published in the *Deutsche Rundschau*, 'Sinceras' says that Prince Bismarck would do well to confess that he made a mistake in attacking it, and that the young Emperor has a good opportunity of pardoning an indiscretion committed against himself and his family.—E. degli Azzi writes a short memoir of Francesco Capei, a noted Italian advocate, who died last month.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE. Dec. 1.—Dr. J. Santangelo in this number describes the sulphur industry in Sicily, giving many interesting statistics. The total number of workmen employed in the Sicilian mines in 1885 was 28,749. The wages have lately diminished, and part of them are paid in kind, a system which enables the overlookers to rob the workmen, which robbery is in fact protected by law. The weekly bill of a workman with a family of four children, shows that he lost 2 francs 8 cents by being provided with victuals at the mine store-house, as he could have bought the articles in the public market for that amount less. In 1884 no less than 5,655 children under fourteen years were employed in the mines, and forty-two women. The work is very hard, and the children are generally quite naked, and so

exposed to the inclemency of the weather. What is worse, grown up men work among them also in a state of nudity, while the women, in the interior of the mine, are scarcely covered by a few rags. The weights the children carry render most of them crooked, and prevent their physical development. They are pale, thin, and suffering. Large deposits of fæcal matter accumulate in unused parts of the mines, and the carbonic acid gas from these, and the sulphurous gas developed in the work are also very detrimental to health, while accidents are frequent. Dr. Santangelo gives the following sad picture of a sulphur miner: 'Having had no religious education, he does not even know the first of prayers. He is sceptical, and obeys only his animal instincts. He has had no family education, and knows nothing of the salutary reproofs of a father or the caresses of a mother. Knowing nothing of a family life, he cannot create one for himself, he chooses a female companion from animal instinct, and perhaps takes her to church to be married, but omits the contract before the syndic, which alone renders the marriage legal, so he changes his wife when he has a mind, just as he goes to another mine where he can get better wages.' The writer gives a hundred other particulars, and suggests some remedy for this miserable state of things.—There are in the number, besides some descriptive letters from the East, and the continuation of the novel 'In Town,' a chatty paper from Signor Bonghi about French books he read on his journey to Italy from England, a short biography of the Italian senator Torelli, by F. Lampertico, a curious article entitled 'La Tregenda,' by A. Conti, and an account of the old Italian musician Francesco Landino, an inscription to whom was discovered in the middle of last century at Prato.

#### FRANCE.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS. No. 5, 1888.—M. Isidore Loeb continues here his account of the religious controversies during the Middle Ages, between Jews and Christians in France and Spain. Having in last number confined himself to the controversies and controversialists of France, he here deals in much the same thorough manner with those of Spain. He gives an epitome of the most able and characteristic works which were produced on both sides, and briefly criticises their respective merits.—M. Pierre Paris furnishes the first part of this year's 'Bulletin archéologique de la religion grecque,' giving a summary of the most important discoveries recently made in Greece, which bear upon and illustrate the religious life and art of the ancient Greeks.—M.

G. Dumoutier gathers up and translates a few of the legends and traditions bearing on human sacrifices, that are found among the Muong tribesmen in Tonquin and Anam. Dr. Ignatius Goldziher shows how the knowledge of early Christian tradition and early Christian literature influenced the religious literature of Islam, enriched the 'Lives' of the prophet and modified the moral injunctions and teaching of the Mohammedan writers.—Count Goblet d'Alviella reviews M. Ploix' 'La nature des dieux'; M. Fontanés, M. Carrau's 'La philosophie religieuse en Angleterre depuis Locke jusqu'à nos jours,' and the Editor takes up Pressense's recent work 'La Siècle Apostolique' and M. Chastand's 'L'Apôtre Jean et le IV. Evangile.' These are followed by the usual *Chronique* for the two months, Summaries of books and magazine articles bearing on the History of Religions, and by a very full Bibliography of the publications bearing on the subject to which this *Revue* is devoted.

REVUE DES ÉTUDES JUIVES. Juillet-Septembre, 1888.—M. J. Halévy continues his 'Recherches Bibliques.' Two papers are here given which were read before the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* in May and September. In the first he defends his views as to the identity of the four kings mentioned in Genesis xiv. with the Hammurabi, Eriw-Aku, Kudurlagamari, and Turgal of the cuneiform inscriptions, against M. J. Oppert, who severely criticised these views in a paper read before the *Académie* in December 1887. In the second, he endeavours to prove from the data given in Genesis, in the cuneiform Inscriptions, and in Herodotus, that the 'Gomer' of Genesis are the 'Gimirra' of the Inscriptions, and the 'Cimmerians' of Herodotus, and that their original home was not Scythia, but Cappadocia.—M. T. Reinach refutes Professor Graetz' arguments in last number as to the Jewish coins, generally regarded as struck during the revolt of Bar-Cocheba, being coins of the brothers Julian and Pappos.—M. J. Levi gives some varieties of the legend as to the pride of Solomon and its punishment, which are interesting as showing the wanderings of such folk-lore tales, and their probable source. Professor Loeb continues his study on 'Josef Haccohen et les chroniqueurs juifs,' and gives a brief note afterwards on a Hebrew inscription at Giron. The other note-worthy contents of this number are 'Notices et extraits de mes MSS.' by D. de Gunzbourg; 'Institutions de Rabbins français,' and 'Menahem Vardimas,' and 'Dreux et Gournay,' by Ad. Neubauer; 'La résidence des Juifs à Marseille,' by J. Weyl; 'Les Juifs de Nantes et du pays nantais,' by L. Brunswick; 'Les inter-



pretations d'Akiba et d'Ismaël sur Nombres v. 28,' by Furst; and 'Scènes de Chasse dans le Talmud,' by M. Jastrow.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES. October, November, December.—In the earlier numbers for this quarter there is a good deal of tolerably heavy reading. Under this rubric it is scarcely unfair to class the 'Souvenirs Diplomatiques,' in which M. G. Rothan retraces the various negotiations undertaken with a view to secure the recognition of the Second Empire by the Northern Courts. Neither can any very great interest be said to attach to M. Camille Rousset's 'Conquest of Algeria,' which was commenced over a year ago, and drags its rather weary length right into the December parts. Who, of ordinary readers, cares for either the Second Empire or the conquest of Algeria just now?—A contribution of far greater interest is M. Gabriel Bonvalot's 'Aux Indes à travers le Pamir.' In 1886 the intrepid traveller set out with a view of reaching India by way of Afghanistan. No sooner had he crossed the Amer, however, than he was obliged by the Afghan authorities to turn back and to make for Samarcand. Here, at the suggestion of some Russian officers, he resolved to renew his attempt by another route, across the Pamir, the 'roof of the world.' The journey was performed in the depth of winter, through a vast desert of snow where the cold was so intense that the mercury froze in the thermometer. In spite of all dangers and difficulties M. Bonvalot and his companions again succeeded in reaching the Afghan frontier. Here again, they found their progress barred. But experience had taught them what to expect and what to do. Without waiting for the return of the messenger who had been sent for instructions, of which they knew quite well what the tenor would be, they took it on themselves to cross the Hindo-Koosh without permission and without guides. They had, however, only fled from one prison into another. They were stopped and detained some six or seven weeks by the Tchatalis, and it was only thanks to Lord Dufferin that they were released and ultimately succeeded in reaching British India. Throughout, M. Bonvalot's narrative is most interesting, and at times exciting. His Russian proclivities, however, are so very apparent, and the satisfaction with which he notes whatever is favourable to Russia and unfavourable to England is so thinly veiled, that it is difficult to read his narrative without a sense of irritation.—Another paper of considerable interest is that in which M. P. de Tchihatchef compares the petroleum production of Russia with that of the United States for the purpose of ascertaining which of the two countries is likely to secure a monopoly of the fuel which he

thinks destined to take the place of coals. As his name might almost lead us to expect, the writer decides in favour of Russia.—In a series of articles which require no further recommendation than the mere mention of the author's name, M. Maxime Du Camp, gives the history of the movement which resulted in the convention of Geneva, and details all that the Red Cross was able to achieve in the way of mitigating the horrors of war in the great struggle between France and Germany.—The Russian lady who writes under the pseudonym of Arvède Barine contributes a charming essay on Christina of Sweden. The subject, as all who have even a slight acquaintance with it will know, is not an easy one. Nor, indeed, does the writer attempt to decide wholly for or wholly against either those who have praised or those who have censured the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus. But a minute and conscientious examination of all available documents enables her to explain the striking contradiction between the various judgments which historians and biographers have passed on her.—A third instalment, contributed to the first of the November parts, closes the series of articles which M. C. de Varigny has devoted to English and American millionaires. Like its predecessors, the article contains a good deal of interesting though scarcely new matter, together with a good deal that is mere padding.—The anonymous paper entitled 'Our Field Artillery' is written with evident mastery of an important subject. Whether, however, it is absolutely impartial seems at least open to doubt.—In the second of the November numbers M. Ferdinand Brunetiere brings a second instalment of his 'Studies on the Seventeenth Century' begun as far back as last August. In the present article he traces the various phases in the struggle between Cartesianism and Jansenism, a struggle which resulted in the triumph of the former.—A paper of wide interest is that which M. Victor Du Bled devotes to an exposition of the Municipal Government of large towns. The subject is obviously one which admits of no satisfactory summarising; it must suffice to state that the large towns considered are London, Berlin, and Brussels, and that there are some general and very cursory remarks concerning the various systems which obtain in Italy, Spain, Portugal, Norway, Sweden, Russia, China and the United States.—The mere title of M. Edmond Plauchut's paper 'Egypt and the English Occupation,' will ensure its being read; but, its contents will scarcely secure for it a very cordial reception in this country. Summed up in a very few words, the author's object is to shew that Arabia's revolt was encouraged by English statesmen as affording a pretext for intervention and for taking possession of a long-coveted country.—The last contribution

which call for mention in the essay in which M. Emile Faguet examines the character and the works of Joseph de Maistre. From a literary point of view this study is equal to anything in the six numbers before us. The subject, however, is one which may possibly awaken but a very moderate amount of interest amongst English readers.

BIBLIOTHEQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE. October, November, December.—The closing numbers of the year fully maintain the status and popularity of this attractive periodical. They are readable from cover to cover, but no fewer than six articles are of exceptional interest, to leave out of account M. Combe's admirable novelette 'Aglæ,' and the 'Récits américains' of Rose Terry Cooke, which last are probably already familiar to many readers north of the 'silver streak.'—In a sympathetic yet critical review of the contemporary poets of France, M. Edward Rod gives a pregnant and somewhat heterodox estimate of Paul Verlaine and poets of the so-called 'Décadence,' who hold in relation to the hitherto accepted standard of poetry a position analogous to that of Swinburne, Rossetti and their numerous disciples. With them 'form,' 'colour,' and above all 'music,' are the essentials in the new poetic departure; thought, 'criticism of life,' even common sense are matters of very minor consideration. M. Rod's position is fairly indicated in a single remarkable sentence; 'I feel more pleasure in turning to the 'Solitaire' (Sully-Prudhomme), 'Caïn' (Leconte de Lisle), or 'Sagesse' (Paul Verlaine), than in the extravagant tirades of Victor Hugo or the impassioned diatribes of De Musset.' 'But yesterday the name of Hugo might have stood against the world!'—M. Victor Dingelstedt, whose residence for many years in Central Asia qualifies him to speak with authority, gives an informing account of the Syr-Daria and the civilizing work of Russia in that region.—Under the comprehensive title 'Les Falsificateurs,' a word which covers all sorts of shams, adulterations, imitations, and artificialities—M. Lullin gathers together copious illustrations of the ingenuity of mortals in simulating natural productions and in even improving on them. It would appear that the demand for artificial eggs already exceeds the power of supply.—The name of Carmen Sylva, the Queen of Roumania is better known in this country than her writings, but at least one of her books has appeared in an English translation. M. Léo Quesnel, who has enjoyed the honour of hearing her Majesty read her own verses in her idyllic mountain palace, supplies a pleasant biographical sketch of the Queen, her character, and her works. One could have wished it longer, fuller in detail, and more precise in its

dates, but in any case it is an enjoyable glimpse of a sweet and gracious personality.—‘Sardine-Fishery and Traffic,’ by M. Emile Yung contains most curious information, and ‘The Literary movement in Italy’ another of Mr. Rod’s papers, affords a survey which cannot but be interesting to lovers of literature.—As usual the various ‘Chroniques’ are distinguished by bright and chatty views of men and books.

**L’ART.** October, November, December.—The number bearing the date of the 1st of November opens with an extract from M. Adolphe Jullien’s *Life of Berlioz*. It is entitled ‘Berlioz et la Damnation de Faust,’ and recalls the circumstances under which the operatic fragment was composed and produced.—‘What becomes of statues?’ The question is asked by M. Philibert Audebrand, who at the same time gives an answer to it in an excellent little sketch which recalls the chequered history of some of the masterpieces of ancient and modern times, and shows to what vile uses productions for which immortality was prophesied have at times been turned.—The single original article contained in the mid-monthly part is a sketch of the career and a short analysis of the works of John Brueghel, a Dutch painter, a contemporary and friend of Rubens.—In a paper which he entitles ‘Les Femmes à l’Académie de peinture’ M. G. de Lériss gives a few particulars concerning the fourteen ladies who, between 1673 and 1783 were admitted as members of the Royal Academy. The first of them was Catherine du Chenu, the wife of the painter Girardon. The last was Mme. Vigée-Lebrun.—In one of the December number Berlioz is again brought before the reader by M. Felix Naquet who contributes a very able review of M. Jullien’s work on the great composer as well as of that which he published some months ago on Wagner.—This is followed by a further instalment of M. Paul Leroi’s charming ‘Silhouettes d’artistes contemporains,’ the subject of the present sketch being Eugène Lambert.—The number which closes the year is chiefly taken up with notices of illustrated books and specimens of the engravings which they contain. The only independent article is one which M. Henry de Chennevières devotes to Listard, a Genevese artist of the 18th century.

**REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE.** October, November, December.—In the first of these three numbers M. Paul Janet continues the series of articles which he entitles ‘Introduction to Philosophical Science.’ The present instalment deals with the opposition which, in philosophy as in theology, exists between science and faith.—M. Bourdon’s paper ‘The Phonetic Evolution of Language’ is one which may be turned to practical use. In dealing with the main

question he is brought to consider the mechanism of articulation and shows how very greatly the pronunciation of foreign languages might be facilitated if more attention were given to this important but very generally neglected subject.—The paper which M. H. Ferneuil devotes to a consideration of the nature and scope of society is, in the main a refutation of the theory based on the assumption of 'a social contract.'—M. Guyau, the author of '*Esquisse d'une morale*,' '*l'Irréligion de l'Avenir*,' '*Morale anglaise contemporaine*,' and other works familiar to students of philosophy, is the subject of an exceedingly able and appreciative sketch from the pen of M. Fouillée. It runs through both the November and December numbers.—In what he calls 'a study of moral statistics,' M. Darkheim considers suicide in its connection with natality, and endeavours to show that if, on the one hand, an excess of births in any given country, or district, corresponds to an increase of suicides, the same results are also noticeable when vital statistics show a decrease of population.—Besides articles to which we have already referred, the last of these numbers contains a paper entitled 'Modern Theories of Generation and Heredity.' It is a summary of the course of lectures delivered by Professor Balbiani at the Collège de France.

REVUE SCIENTIFIQUE. October, November, December.—The first of the thirteen weekly parts now before us opens with a summarised report of the proceedings at the Congress of the German Hygienic and Medical Society. The reforms necessary in the legislation relative to dwelling-houses, the conditions under which sites for factories should be chosen and granted by the municipal authorities, and finally the manner in which sewage is disposed of in Frankfort, Wiesbaden, Essen and Halle, are the chief points which came up for discussion. Akin to this paper is the report of the address delivered by Dr. Koch at another Congress, that of army surgeons. The subject with which it deals is the prophylaxy of infectious diseases in armies. Under the same category, we find in No. 20—November 17—a very important article on the 'Physical Education of Young Children.' It is from the pen of M. Lagrange, who maintains that the methods of physical education actually followed in France altogether fail to meet the requirement which the health of children imposes. They are, he says, neither hygienic nor recreative; and he altogether disapproves of gymnasia as substitutes for open air exercise, except, of course, where the latter is not easily obtainable, as for example, in large centres of population.—The section devoted to scientific biographies has but one contribution to show this quarter, and that is a sketch of the career and work

of the eminent German mathematician, Clausius, to whom is due the discovery of what is known as the second law of thermodynamics.—Geography also is but poorly represented as compared with former quarters, though both the articles devoted to it must be allowed to be of considerable importance. The former of them, entitled 'The South-African Dominion,' examines, in no very friendly spirit, the progress of British colonization in the Dark Continent, where, it is predicted, England will soon possess another India. The other paper may, to a certain extent, serve as a counterpoise to this. It deals at very great length with the 'French Soudan,' that is Senegal and the Niger country, and considers in what manner and by what means colonization can best and most advantageously be carried on there.—Zoologists will have the consolation that the single paper specially intended for them is one not likely to attract outsiders. Its title is 'La Fonction urinaire chez les mollusques acéphales.'—Ethnography is well represented, as regards both the number of papers devoted to it and the importance and interest of each separate contribution. M. Vigué leads off with an excellent account of the various tribes of Senegambia, with the strange manners and customs of some of which, particularly the Susus, he appears to be very intimately acquainted. As a kind of antithesis to this—that is in so far as the people dealt with are concerned—the reader may turn to the sketch which M. Léo Quesnel gives of the Esquimaux. It should be noticed, however, that it is not based on personal research and experience, but on M. Emile Petitot's work *Les Grands Esquimaux*. In another article M. de Saint-Sernin takes us to the fishing-stations of the Cambodge, and describes, not only the way in which the fishing is carried on, but also, though not minutely, the manner of life of those engaged in the industry. The remaining papers in this special section all relate to the Jews. In an article contributed some time back to the *Revue*, Dr. Le Bon, expressed a very low estimate of the part played by the people of Israel in the civilization of the world. For this he is taken to task by M. Hément, and naturally replies in his defence. M. Ch. Richet then intervenes, to point out certain exaggerations on both sides, and finally M. S. Reinach protests against M. Richet's assertion that charity is not a Jewish virtue. It is scarcely necessary to add that the whole controversy is left at the end precisely as it began.—Passing on to Psychology, we have a variety of subjects connected with it, dealt with in a more or less popular manner. The evolution of the sense of colour, a theory which has found a good number of supporters, is opposed by M. Pouchet who, in a paper which



lays no claim to scientific strictness or authority, shows that red, which is mentioned as having originally been the only colour of which man had the perception, is still that which occurs most often in a number of works chosen by him at random. M. Soret enters into an examination of some of the illusions of sight produced by drawing and painting; and M. Th. Meynert communicates the address on 'Brain and Sociability' delivered at Cologne before the Congress of German Naturalists. Finally, M. Ch. Féré devotes a paper of considerable length to an account of the provision made for the insane in Scotland.—Of miscellaneous subjects we may mention M. Max de Nansouty's 'Inundations and the means of checking them'; M. Georges Petit's description of the actual state of the works of the Panama Canal; M. Janssen's account of an excursion to Mont Blanc; and M. Sesèble's 'Wolf Hunting in Russia.'

REVUE UNIVERSELLE ILLUSTRÉE. October, November and December.—The first of these numbers opens with a very excellent sketch, 'De Saint-Petersbourg à Stockholm,' from the pen of the well-known art-critic M. Emile Michel, who is at present engaged in visiting all the museums and picture galleries in Europe, preparatory to writing a life of Rembrandt, for which he has received a commission from the French publisher, M. Hachette.—Another instalment of these *impressions de voyages* appears in the December number. It takes the reader from Stockholm to Copenhagen.—'France et Italie,' by M. Mereu, an Italian, endeavours to account, in a friendly way and without entering into anything like a political discussion, for the singular phenomenon of two nations who, as he puts it, love each other, but think themselves hated each by the other.—'Une Vengeance,' the story of Spanish life, which represents the light literature for the first month, is abundantly exciting and not badly written, or rather translated.—The 'Souvenirs de la vie littéraire,' contributed by M. Philibert Audebrand, will not strike the reader who knows anything about Gérard de Norval as being particular new; but the strange career and the mysterious death of the clever, but half, if not wholly, mad individual who assumed the name, is one that will bear being re-told, and M. Audebrand tells it in a pleasant way, and from personal knowledge.—'L'Evangile illustré par les grands Artistes' is an interesting sketch, in which M. Dumont shows both with pen and pencil, how the various scenes and episodes of the Gospels have been treated by the great masters.—Akin to this is the paper in which M. Eugène Müntz chats pleasantly and instructively about the Madonnas of Michael-Angelo.—M.

Adolphe Jullien, to whose eminence as a musical critic it is scarcely necessary to refer, has a capital article on Auber.—In continuation of his literary reminiscences, M. Audebrand gives some interesting and amusing details concerning the father of Balzac.—The December number is scarcely up to the average of its predecessors. One very good thing, owing chiefly to the illustrations which accompany it, is M. Delannoy's 'Chiens et Chats.'—The paper which M. Chavelier heads 'Marie Tudor' has one merit, that of being very short.—For the benefit of musical readers it may be mentioned that the November part contains an unpublished melody by Schubert.

#### HOLLAND.

THEOLOGISCH TIJDSCHRIFT.—The November number contains the conclusion of Prof. Kuenen's 'Three paths, one goal.' Two of the paths adopted in early Old Testament studies, were discussed in the former paper, that of intuition by M. Renan, and that of dissection of the sources, by Kittel. The third path, that of comparison, is that of Prof. Bâthgen. The title of his book is *The God of Israel and the Gods of the Heathen*, and indicates the position taken up in the book against Kuenen himself and Stade, that the early Israelites were not polytheists as their neighbours were, but that the worship of Jehovah only was considered right and legitimate among them from the earliest times. This thesis is worked out by a comparative review of the gods of the Semitic tribes, for which the reviewer gives him high praise. It is denied, however, that the difference between Jahveh on the one side and Chemosh and his brother gods on the other, is so wide or reaches so far back as Prof. Bâthgen would have it. 'Jahveh and Chemosh are sons of one house, branches of one stem,' though Jahveh had from the first a character promising better things, which was entirely wanting to Chemosh. The student will await with interest the appearance of Dr. Robertson Smith's Burnet Lectures on early Semitic religion, which will throw a much needed light in this country on a dim and difficult subject. There is a very appreciative critique of Sabatier's book on the origin of sin in Paul's theological system; also a notice of Mr. Evans' *St. John, the Author of the Fourth Gospel*, which is treated as a phenomenon of curious interest.

DE GIDS. Oct.—'Java's greatest curse' is an article on the opium traffic in that island, where it is one of the best sources of revenue, though at the cost of demoralisation of people and officials. The system of farming out the opium taxes for a period of three years is condemned by Kielstra, the writer of

the article. He advocates not the suppression but the regulation of the trade, so as to put an end to smuggling and limit the number of dens. He describes vividly the vexatious position of officials having to deal with spies and informers, and the misery the present system entails on the people. The same subject is treated in a review of Wiselius' able book, *Opium in Dutch and British India*. This author roundly accuses the British Government of a vast deal of *cant* in their descriptions of opium culture. He says that the labour employed, though nominally free, is as really forced labour as that of Dutch India, but he acknowledges that opium culture as carried on by the British is admirable in its methods and results. The whole aspects of the trade are discussed with all its difficulties, and the book is one which government officials might study with profit.

DE GIDS. November.—Naber writes on 'Johan de Witt and His latest Historian.' This is Lefèvre Pontalis, who has industriously brought to light many documents, but has proved himself incapable of deciphering their true import, especially in regard to De Witt's position on the question of centralisation or decentralisation of State authority, and as to his attitude towards France. No one excelled De Witt in the art of misleading others in his documents and letters. His diplomatic career minutely followed out here was that of an Icarus.—From Belgium's School-History is a very long description of the state of Education in Belgium since 1878, than which nothing can be more deplorable. Under the Liberal Government much progress was made in establishing public schools, but these were opposed by all possible intrigues and incredibly mean persecution of the priests, who even made wives desert their husbands and children because the latter were sent to the public school. The accession of a Catholic ministry resulted in such measures being taken, that in December 1887, 2,205 public schools were swept out of existence, and 1500 certificated and capable teachers had to give place to others, many of whom were perfectly ignorant. The expense to districts has, nevertheless, increased, and even Catholics begin to find the effects of their reaction expensive. Belgium has the distinction of being the only country in Europe where the Government opposes progress in public instruction.—'The Story of the Nations'—*Holland*—by Thorold Rogers, though flattering to the Dutch, is in many points inaccurate, and gives a perverted view of Dutch history. It is more of a pamphlet than a history, and is pronounced by the reviewer not worthy of being translated into Dutch.—The death of Zimmermann,

a frequent contributor of graphic, social, and political sketches, is lamented. Though one of the busiest men in Amsterdam—sugar broker and banker—he found time for writing novels, none of which however, is of much account.

DE GIDS.—The December number opens with tributes, more eulogistic than critical, to the memory of the lately deceased Jan van Beers, schoolmaster, poet and novelist. Devoted to his country Belgium, he did good service as editor of many school-books; but as a Liberal, he suffered from the policy of the Catholics, whose tactics referred to above, are dramatically exposed in his novel. He was like his friend Conscience, an enthusiast for the Flemish movement, which he did all in his power to promote, as well as to encourage a brotherly feeling with Holland. His claim to be a poet has been acknowledged by his countrymen. His earlier poems are sickly in sentiment, dreamy and sad; his later ones more manly, less French, more Flemish, but if one, which sees the light for the first time here, the commonplace 'Idyll of Mathijs' is a fair specimen, they cannot rank high.—An interesting paper reviews the art-work and gives glimpses of the life of the three remarkable brothers, Jacob, Mathij and William Maris, all little appreciated in Holland, but whose work, while it is essentially 19th century, will bear comparison with the best 17th century work, of which it is in no sense an imitation, being thoroughly original and characteristic. All three, though very different in their choice of subjects, have yet a curious likeness in their way of treating them.—A contribution to the history of classic philology is found in a paper on Scaliger, his precursors (Stephanus and Isaac Casaubon) and his successors (Perizonius and Beaufort). It is shown how the study of antiquity at that period was especially developed in the circles of the Reformed.—A course of essays on the 18th century deals with Young's 'Night Thoughts' which both in itself and on account of the influence it exercised on the period, is characterised as unique, and one of the most notable documents in European literature, but not easy to read through.

DE GIDS. January.—The most interesting paper is one by Professor Naber on the study of Greek and Latin in Dutch secondary schools. He laments that the Dutch youth spend six years in not learning these languages, and is reluctantly led to the conclusion that Greek should no longer form a part of the general curriculum of grammar schools. Latin, he holds, should retain its place, but should be taught in a more living, a more conversational way than now.

## CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

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*The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament.* By EBERHARD SCHRADER, D.D., &c. Translated from the second enlarged German edition by the Rev. OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE, M.A. Vol. II. With Addenda and Appendices. London: Williams & Norgate. 1888.

This volume not only completes the translation of Professor Schrader's *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, but brings to a close the work of the Theological Translation Fund. Not that the work projected by Messrs. Williams and Norgate in originating the Fund has been accomplished, but the support given to them by the reading public has proved insufficient to justify them in proceeding further with it. This is to be deplored, for the volumes issued under it have been among the best of their kind which German scholarship has of late produced. Certainly the last of these, Pfeiderer's *Philosophy of Religion*, and Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, are of so commanding interest and importance that the demand for them might well have been expected to be such as to inspire the publishers with fresh hope and courage. It has not been so; and we can therefore only express our regret at the decision they have been forced to come to. Professor Whitehouse apologises for the delay that has occurred in the publication of this volume. When we see, however, how much additional matter this second volume contains to that in Schrader's German edition, and that by Professor Schrader's own notes and the editor's contributions to it the work is really vastly enriched and brought up to date—all the most important discoveries of these past three years are chronicled, and recent articles and discussions summarised, if not given *in extenso*—we feel that apology is hardly needed. Both the author and the translator have done their best to make this English edition as perfect as possible, and it is to be commended for the wealth of information it contains, and the care that has been taken to secure both fulness and accuracy throughout. The light which the recovered Assyrian language and history shed on obscure passages of the various books of the Bible is turned on them here, and under that light much of their obscurity disappears. The 'Excursus on Chronology' is an admirable piece of workmanship, and is enriched with very valuable notes by the translator. The Chronological Addenda, containing the 'Assyrian Canon of Rulers,' 'Eponym Lists,' 'Babylonian Canon of Rulers,' according to Ptolemæus, and 'Babylono-Assyrian Synchronisms'; an elaborate 'Glossary' for all the texts transcribed in the two volumes; Indices, and Additional Notes, and the Bibliography make this edition one of the greatest helps to the Biblical student, and handiest guides to the young Assyriologist that we know of, if he is also interested in Old Testament exegesis.

*The Preachers of Scotland from the Sixth to the Nineteenth Century* (Cunningham Lecture). By W. G. BLAIKIE, D.D., LL.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1888.

Dr. Blaikie may be said to have chosen for his Cunningham Lecture a more popular subject than any of his predecessors. There can be no doubt that Scotsmen have a strong liking for sermons, and will often go long

distances to hear a popular preacher, and any book dealing with preachers is generally sure to find a more than average number of readers. Dr. Blaikie's book is partly historical and partly, in fact largely theological—perhaps necessarily so. His opinions in theology are well known, and here we have nothing to do with them. Our main business is with his book or lectures as a history of preaching in Scotland, for such, we take it, it is ostensibly meant to be. Dr. Blaikie has read widely, and undoubtedly says a good deal which is historical in a vigorous and interesting way, but we hesitate to add that he has written impartially. He is too apt to judge the preachers he has to deal with according as they preached or did not preach the opinions he is himself in favour of. No one, however, we should imagine, will object to his denunciation of such men as 'Jupiter' Carlyle, or Dr. Webster. On the other hand the assertion that 'such supernatural appendages,' as the miracles, visions and prophecies which Adamnan records in his *Life of St. Columba*, 'are characteristic of an author who had lost faith in the power of the Gospel message, backed by a holy Christian life,' conveys an insinuation which is unjust to the memory of Adamnan and in contradiction to all that is known of him. Dr. Blaikie in fact betrays too much of the character of an advocate for an historian. Still his book abounds in excellent descriptive passages, and is written in a very popular manner.

*Works of Thomas Hill Green.* Edited by R. L. NETTLESHIP.  
Vol. III. *Miscellanies and Memoir: with a Portrait.* London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1888.

This volume completes the collected works of the late Professor Green, and forms a very fitting supplement and companion to the volumes that have gone before. It ranges, in its 'Miscellanies,' over a considerable field,—containing papers of a purely philosophical cast, essays on passages of Scripture and on Christian dogma, reviews of books, lectures on the English Revolution, and lectures on educational subjects. It is preceded by a Memoir (covering about one-third of the whole), written by the editor, giving us a vivid and exceedingly interesting account of the author. And it closes with an Index; of which, however, it must be said that it is all too meagre. With the appearance of this handsome volume, we are now in a position to see the exact nature and amount of Professor Green's contributions to philosophy. And the first thing that strikes us is Green's own personality. Old students never tire speaking in terms of the most enthusiastic admiration of the master; and they testify, one and all, to the stimulating and elevating effect that immediate contact with him produced. The same stimulating and elevating effect is produced upon the reader of these pages. We rise from a perusal of them with the impression that the writer and his philosophy are one, and that there is no insincerity here. Green's was clearly a 'life in which philosophy was reconciled with religion on the one side and with politics on the other; the life of a man to whom reason was faith made articulate, and for whom both faith and reason found their highest expression in good citizenship.' The next thing that strikes us is, that Green's philosophy really consists of two great principles,—man's spiritual liberty, and the universal self-consciousness. Into whatever field the writer may happen to stray—politics, philosophy, religion—the turning-point in the argument is always one or other of these. They are for him the open sesame for all doors of the universe—the ultimate explanation of the world and of life. The third striking fact is, that the groundwork of Green's system was laid by him at a very early date. As far back as the year 1858, i.e., when he himself was only twenty-two years



of age, he wrote an essay on the 'The Force of Circumstances,' and there it is laid down that 'this outer world is no independent existence, but a means through which a man's own mind is evermore communicated to him, through which the deity, who works unseen behind it, pours the truth and love which transform his capabilities into realities': and, 'It is a similar lesson which the good man learns from the power of external nature in all its aspects. He finds that it is only what he gives to it that he receives from it, but yet by some mysterious affinity, it evokes what he has to give, and then it bears witness with his own spirit that what he gives is not his own, but inspired from above. There is no chasm between man and nature. Each, we may truly say, is a reasonable soul; one as being the living receptacle, the other, the apt channel, of the influx of divinity.' Here is the very kernel of Green's system; and the way of putting it is scarcely improved upon in later years. But what now is the value of that system? This is a question that we dare not, just at present, dogmatically answer. One thing, however, we may confidently say, that the moral earnestness and the speculative ability displayed in these writings must be a power in philosophy for many a day; but, on the other hand, we are not less confident that the doctrine of the universal self-consciousness, as here put, is not likely to be generally accepted as a final explanation of the universe. It leaves too many things unexplained, and creates too many difficulties of its own, to permit its being regarded as wholly satisfactory; and, in its latest form, it becomes too much attenuated and savours too much of a bare abstraction to meet the demand of the religious consciousness for a *personal* all-comprehending Deity.

*The Nervous System and the Mind: a Treatise on the Dynamics of the Human Organism.* By CHARLES MERCIER, M.B.  
London: Macmillan & Co. 1888.

This book, so the author himself tells us, is intended primarily for the Alienist; but it is one, we venture to think, that is likely to have considerably more interest for the general student of psychology. For the alienist—or, to speak in a language more easily understood, 'the student of insanity'—is not by any means prominent in it; and there are certain reasons why the alienist, *quâ* alienist, should not be specially drawn towards it. In the first place, he is soundly rated, in the Introduction, with his apathy in relation to a knowledge of the normal mind; he is told that he regards the acquisition of such a knowledge 'as a useless waste of time, and indeed as a pernicious dereliction of duty.' But really, in the face of such works as those of Dr. Maudsley, this seems to be putting it too strong; and as for ourselves, we can only say that we have known several very eminent alienists, and each of them was a diligent and appreciative student of Mr. Herbert Spencer. In the next place, there is much, very much, in this work that is highly theoretical; at certain points, indeed, the amount of hypothesis and inference is enormous. Can you blame the alienist if he does not show the same amount of enthusiasm all along the line as our author does? Besides the Preface, the Introduction, and the Conclusion, the book itself consists of three parts: the first dealing with the physical and the physiological functions of the Nervous System; the second with the psychology of Conduct; and the third with Mind. The whole is determined by the fact that 'the psychological unit is a *nervous process*, which when transmitted to muscles, issues in a *movement*, and is accompanied by a *mental state*.' In Part I., we have a very clear, able, and effective exposition of the nature and origin of the nerves and nerve centres, following closely on the lines of Mr. Spencer and Dr. Hughlings-Jackson. The virtue here lies, not in anything purely original on Dr. Mercier's part, but in the lum-

inous and succinct statement of well known doctrine, together with great wealth of illustration. In Part II., we have a very full account of the psychological functions of the nervous system, i.e., of its power 'to adjust the organism as a whole to its environment.' But let the introspective psychologist here beware; for introspection is explicitly excluded. The standpoint is not subjective, but objective; and the conduct treated of is the objective ordering of movement, with a nervous mechanism which obeys 'strictly physiological law.' It is Part III. that has for us the greatest interest, and that shews the author in his highest originality. But, unfortunately, here precisely it is where we can least agree with him. His famous classification of the Feelings seems to us entirely vicious, and it does not, as he lays claim for it, set out the order of evolution. That it is marked by intellectual acuteness and a firm hold of scientific method, is undoubted; but the ingenuity is often too great, landing us in the proverbial distinction without a difference; and there is no just appreciation of the limits of Natural History grouping, as applied to the phenomena of Mind. From the necessity of the case, Emotions cannot be as sharply demarcated as the different species, genera, and orders of plants and animals; nor can you work the graded system to anything like the same extent as you do in Botany and Zoology. A vast number of emotions are highly *compound*, being a union of two, three, or more simpler emotions, and so cannot properly be grouped along with any single one of their components. There is interminable overlapping; and so much double, triple, or quadruple entry is required as really to deprive the graded system of all save its nominal value. Nevertheless, it is well to see, once for all, how exactly the thing looks when carried systematically out; and this value at least Dr. Mercier's brilliant effort has, and for this we owe him gratitude.

*Scotland in 1298: Documents relating to the Campaign of K. Edward I. in that Year, and especially to the Battle of Falkirk.* Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by HENRY GOUGH, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. Alexander Gardner, Paisley; and Paternoster Row, London. 1888.

This volume is one of several by which the Marquess of Bute is aiding the illustration of a period in Scottish history which eminently deserves to have every means for such illustration brought to bear upon it. The period is that of the wars of Edward I. in Scotland. Lord Bute himself has, by his paper on the Burning of the Barns of Ayr, and by his publication (in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*) of a most curious narrative found for him by Mr. H. Gough in a MS. in the parish library of Reigate, Surrey, and written in imitation of Biblical history in a style very satirical and humorous, but often also very profane, begun this work of illustration; and now, by invoking the services of the specially competent gentleman already named, he continues it on a far larger scale in the volume of which the title is given above. We have here all the contemporaneous documentary materials for the history of the war in 1298, gathered from the Public Records, and presented in their sequence, embracing all the details of the levies made for the English army, with the various preparations for the campaign and its expenses, etc.; together with such relations of the events of the campaign as are given by chroniclers either contemporary or closely subsequent. The official documents extend in date from July 1297 to November 1298. To show the nature and interest of the volume, it will be enough here to summarize its chief contents. We have first, in Mr. Gough's Introduction, an

outline given of the proceedings of Edward I. in this eventful year; and this is followed by a series of extracts from the chronicles, of which the latest is that of Meaux, written at the close of the Fourteenth Century. The Documents themselves then commence, with writs for levies, and with letters of protection for the lands and goods of those who were summoned for military service. These were at first issued by the King's son, Prince Edward, while the King was in Flanders. The Prince also, on January 22, ordered the Earl of Surrey to proceed forthwith to Scotland with such forces as were ready, without waiting for that Welsh contingent which afterwards at Falkirk gave great reason for suspecting treachery on their part, by their uncertain behaviour until the moment when they saw that the fate of the battle was no longer in doubt. From the time of the King's arrival in England in March, these documents become naturally more numerous, and additional writs for levies in Wales bring the number of soldiers there raised to a total of 11,200. Mandates for supplies of divisions are on several occasions dispatched to Ireland, as well as elsewhere. Various presentations to ecclesiastical benefices in Scotland are recorded as being made by the King, of which most are subsequent to the battle of Falkirk. Two of the larger and more important articles are, (1) The Roll of Arms of those English knights who led the troops of their retainers at the battle, which is given in duplicate from two MSS., with notes upon each name; and, (2) Two Rolls of Horses. These latter Rolls are extremely interesting, as each horse is described, and appraised at the value for which compensation was to be made if it were lost in the campaign. Finally, of a date fifteen years later, there come some money accounts of persons who had been employed in paying soldiers' wages and in providing corn. In a note to the Roll of Arms, Mr. Gough mentions an important discovery made by himself some years ago relative to a writ dated 26th January, 25 Edward I. (1297), which has been hitherto erroneously described as summoning a Parliament to be held on the feast of St. Matthew (21st September) next ensuing, and upon which Sir H. Nicolas based an argument which assumed that this writ was supplemented by a later one of 9th September. Mr. Gough points out that *Matthew* is a misreading of the record, which really gives *Matthias*; and by this simple correction of date the whole argument based on the erroneous reading falls to the ground. The value of this correction has been already recognised at p. 112, vol. i. (1887) of the elaborate and exhaustive *Complete Peerage* now in course of publication, which is understood to be the production of Mr. Cokayne, Norroy King of Arms. From this brief summary of the contents of this volume, it will be easily seen how valuable it is, apart from its relation to general history, for the illustrations it affords of the military system of the Kingdom, of personal and family history, and of prices of equipments and provisions. The name of the editor is a sufficient guarantee of painstaking accuracy. Marginal abstracts facilitate reference to the text; and a most careful index, which will be found of great service to genealogists, supplies all that in an index can be required. We believe that another volume is in preparation, which exhibits an Itinerary of the movements of Edward I. during all the later years of his reign.

*Maitland of Lethington and The Scotland of Mary Stuart: a History.* By JOHN SKELTON, LL.D. Vol. II. Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood & Sons. 1888.

With this volume Mr. Skelton finishes his brilliant sketch of Lethington and the Scotland of Mary Stuart. There is another volume still to come

in order to complete the work, but that is to be made up of letters and documents,—pieces justificatives, as the French say. Of the literary charms of the present volume it is needless to speak. Readers of the previous volume will peruse it with unabated interest, and find in its pages that piquancy and fascination of style they have been led to expect. From an historical point of view, the work is an admirable piece of analysis and statement. Mr. Skelton has sifted his material with a keen, cold, critical eye, and set down his narrative and opinions in a calm and judicial spirit. No doubt he is strongly in favour of Mary and Lethington, and has no love for Knox and the 'precise Protestants,' still, the spirit of fairness in which he has endeavoured to form his opinions and to describe the motives and conduct of all who played an important part in the tragic events of the period with which he has to deal, is generally obvious. Here and there he is perhaps open to the charge of undue partiality, but on this point no judgment in the absence of the supplemental volume can be pronounced. The conduct of some he frankly owns his inability to account for; on that of others he hesitates to pronounce an opinion; and though he leaves little doubt as to the opinions he is disposed to accept himself with respect to several incidents, he points out with the greatest candour the difficulties in the way of their definite acceptance. The period, however, abounds in characters, deeds, and incidents about which Mr. Skelton has no difficulty in arriving at clear and definite conclusions. His reading of many of them is new and startling, and sustained as his opinions seem to be by documentary and other evidence, not a few of them will come to many as revelations. Maitland's character he has certainly vindicated against a great deal of unmerited calumny, and shown that he was a faithful servant, a prudent and skilful statesman, animated by broad and enlightened views, disinterested in his aims, and sincerely devoted to the welfare of his country. He was of precisely that type of character which was likely to suffer from the jealousies and prejudices of his contemporaries. In times of revolution, caution, moderation and tolerance, though greatly needed, are not qualities which are highly esteemed. In his conflict with Knox Maitland was certainly worsted, but it is questionable whether of the two, Knox's or Maitland's, the proposals of the statesman would not have proved the more advantageous to the country. As a vindication of the rights of reason and conscience and as a protest against a sacerdotal monopoly, as well as against an incredible superstition, Mr. Skelton is of opinion that the Reformation nowhere failed more conspicuously than under the leadership of Knox in Scotland. The Reformers, he observes, did not loose the bonds of superstition; they banished one incredibility to replace it by another. And the Church of Knox, he tells us, was as arbitrary, as domineering and as greedy of power as the Church of Hildebrand. With those who believe that the revolution headed by Knox threw back for no less a period than two hundred years art and civilization and even religion in Scotland, Mr. Skelton cannot, however, agree; but he is inclined to hold on the whole that if Maitland's counsels had prevailed, the effect of the Reformation on morals, on doctrine, on the social relations, and on the intellectual life of the country would have been much more salutary than it was. One point which Mr. Skelton is careful to bring out, deserves attention, all the more so as it is generally overlooked, and that is, that except in the towns Knox had no considerable following. The new ideas spread slowly; in the rural and Highland districts they had few adherents; and it was many years, even after the new religion had been established in the towns and by Acts of Parliament, before several parts of the country, and some of them in the neighbourhood of large towns, were completely won over or coerced to its adoption. 'A

wide democratic franchise,' observes Mr. Skelton, 'would probably have arrested the Reformation; and had the Scots been left to fight it out among themselves, Mary would have been Queen till she died. Singularly enough Maitland was an Unionist and saw, what few then were capable of seeing, that a wise and statesmanlike treaty of Union between England and Scotland would have been of great advantage to the northern and poorer kingdom. Though not blind to what was good in Knox, and while paying a just tribute to his sincerity, Mr. Skelton does not fail to point out the defects in his character and conduct. He 'was a power in himself,' he observes, but 'an eruptive and revolutionary power,' overbearing and dogmatic, an 'ecclesiastical dictator as violent and irrational as the ecclesiastical dictator at Rome.' His vehemence, however, 'must not be confounded, as it has sometimes been with deliberate rudeness or boorish disrespect; an entire absence of sound judgment, charity and tact, is the worst that can be laid to his charge. His missionary zeal was untempered by apostolic discretion.' On this account both Maitland and Mary found him utterly unmanageable and impracticable. His conduct towards the latter, though intended to win her over to the Protestant party had precisely the opposite effect. Had he desired to confirm her in her opinions, says Mr. Skelton, 'he could not have followed a more successful method than he adopted.' She found that he was narrow-minded, superstitious, and fiercely intolerant—so narrow-minded, intolerant and superstitious, that he had no difficulty in believing that the orderly course of nature was interfered with because she dined on wild fowl and danced till midnight. If this was Protestantism she would have none of it. Nor can we blame her much.' The earlier historians of Scotland were only permitted to call a spade a spade when no reflection on Knox or his friends was intended. Mr. Skelton has used his right and privilege to call a spade a spade with respect both to Knox and those who sided with him. Perhaps the reputation of none has suffered so much by the facts here set forth as that of Moray, 'the cold and scrupulous Moray,' 'the *vir pietate gravis* of the precise Protestants,' and few passages in the volume will be read with greater interest than the paragraph describing the Articles of the 'Band' which Moray signed, and of which Mr. Skelton roundly says 'a more shameful bargain was never struck.' The picture which the volume presents of the unfortunate Queen Mary is extremely touching, and it is only when one has carefully read all that Mr. Skelton has to say, that one begins to feel the excessive difficulty and painfulness of her position. Situated as she was, it would have been little short of a miracle had no breath of ill-fame fastened itself upon her. Many of the charges brought against her, Mr. Skelton has successfully refuted, but in respect to others, particularly the Bothwell incident, he owns himself unable through lack of sufficient evidence one way or other, to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion. The incident in fact is involved in a mystery, which will probably never be cleared up. Of Burleigh the English minister Mr. Skelton has some good words to say, but of his Sovereign he has none. 'We hear enough,' he says, 'of Mary's bad faith; but Mary's bad faith was pellucid candour when compared with the rank dishonesty of her cousin. Hardly, indeed, in the whole annals of diplomacy can a parallel be found of the unblushing mendacity of Elizabeth.'

*The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England begun in the year 1641.* By EDWARD, EARL OF CLARENDON. Re-edited by W. DUNN MACRAY, M.A., F.S.A. 6 Vols. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1888.



This is a very careful and painstaking edition of Clarendon's great work on the troubles which began in 1641, and which, before they were ended, cost one king his head and drove another into exile. Warburton's notes have been omitted; so also has 'The Short View of the Kingdom of Ireland;' the first, because they have already appeared in two previous editions, and the second, because it is practically a different work. By these omissions, it has been found possible to reduce the seven volumes of the 1849 edition to six, which it is hardly necessary to say, are handsomely printed in good, clear type. So far as the text is concerned, Mr. Macray's edition is incontestably superior to all that have gone before it. It has been collated throughout, we are told, word for word, by the Editor, with the original MS. Of the care with which the work of collating has been done almost every paragraph bears witness. At the end of his sixth volume—not the fifth as stated in the Preface—Mr. Macray has given a table of the readings in the edition of 1849, which he has corrected from the MS. These occupy no fewer than fifty pages of small type, and it is remarkable how few paragraphs there are in which one or more corrections have not been made. Some of them are of course slight, involving in many cases simply the omission of words which former editors have inserted, and such alterations as 'as' into 'and,' 'archbishop' into 'archbishop's,' 'resolutions' into 'resolution,' 'their' into 'the,' 'the' into 'his.' Others of them, however, are of more importance, e.g., 'tone' into 'tune,' 'trustman' into 'truckman,' 'Beedon forest' into 'Needwood forest,' 'Mr. Fern' into 'Mr. Tern,' 'had [too] great reason' into 'had no great reason;' several times Lord Kimbolton of the 1849 edition, is corrected to Lord Mandevil, 'Mountrose's' becomes 'Monroe,' 'in Buckinghamshire' 'at Buckingham,' 'Elector [palatine]' 'Elector of Heydleburgh,' 'one Gilvy' 'one Kilby,' 'Oakes' 'Okey,' and '[in the beginning of] May' 'upon [Friday] the [fourteenth] day of May.' But slight as some of them are, the corrections were all worth making, and the multitude Mr. Macray has found it requisite to make, is a proof of the minute care with which he has edited the work, and a feature which of itself will commend his edition to the attention of students. While engaged in revising the text, Mr. Macray has taken the opportunity of also correcting the punctuation. Owing to the wrong division of sentences or sections in former editions, the meaning of whole passages was often perverted, or their connection obscured; but by altering the division of many of the sections, and by the adoption of a better mode of punctuation, Mr. Macray has been able in many instances to bring out much more distinctly his author's meaning. The most manifest improvement of Mr. Macray's edition, however, and one for which all students of Clarendon will be grateful, is the addition, where possible, of exact dates. Previous Editors, with the exception of a running date of the current year, gave none. But with the help of Mr. Macray, the reader is now able to follow the narrative often from day to day, and even to correct Clarendon himself as to the order of events and the time at which they occurred. This is no small gain. Another feature of importance is the indication of the two sources of the text. As is well known from the preface of Dr. Bulkeley Bandinel to the 1826 edition, Clarendon worked up in the *History* large portions of his *Life*. Mr. Macray has now pointed out in a series of valuable footnotes the places where the text changes from one MS. to the other, and has thus rendered the task of verification comparatively easy. His own notes are not numerous, considering the extent of the work and the abundance of materials there is now at hand for the compilation of them; but their quality is such as to make one wish that he had added more. The



prefaces, on which, by the way, there is an excellent note, have been re-printed, and in the last volume a number of passages are printed which appear to have been struck out by Clarendon immediately after writing them. One or two such passages are also printed in the list of Addenda. In their way they are extremely curious, and show what thoughts were passing through their author's mind at the time of writing. They are a kind of comment too on the passages from which they have been cut out. One other improvement which deserves to be pointed out, is a new and elaborate index, for which all who have occasion to refer to the work will not fail to be thankful. Mr. Macray is to be congratulated. His work will supersede all previous editions of Clarendon.

*The American Commonwealth.* By JAMES BRYCE. 3 Vols. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1888.

Mr. Bryce's three elaborate volumes on the political institutions of the United States will be read with attention and eagerness by all who take an interest in politics, and more especially by those who are in the habit of regarding the political institutions of America as in every way superior to our own, and of admiring them as combining in themselves the best forms of popular government, and as reflecting on the whole the nearest approach to ideal perfection. An attentive perusal of Mr. Bryce's pages may probably tend to diminish this admiration, while with those who are somewhat sceptical as to the perfection of the American Constitution, it may have the effect of confirming their suspicions and of strengthening their belief that however admirably the institutions of America may be adapted to the requirements of the American people, those under which we live on this side of the Atlantic, are more elastic and in some respects superior. Mr. Bryce is not only an enlightened, he is also a very candid critic, and has answered the question Americans so persistently put to strangers with an elaborate frankness which, though perhaps at times a little galling, they can scarcely fail to admire. Of course the book which Mr. Bryce's will most readily suggest to an English reader is M. de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*, but the two works are conceived on quite different lines. Mr. Bryce's object, as he tells us, has been less to discuss the merits of democracy than to paint the institutions and people of America as they are, and to trace what is peculiar in them not merely to the sovereignty of the masses, but also to the history and traditions of the race, to its fundamental ideas, and to its material environment. The European work of which the three volumes remind us most, is Von Holst's *Constitutional Law of the United States*, though as compared with this they are much fuller, more critical, more popular, and less legal. Taking the *American Commonwealth* as it is, Mr. Bryce proceeds to describe its framework and constitutional machinery, the methods by which it is worked and the forces which move it and direct its course, and divides his work into six parts. The first contains an account of the several Federal authorities, the President, Congress, and the Courts of Law, describes the relations of the National or central power to the several States, and discusses the nature of the Constitution as a fundamental supreme law, showing how in a few points it has been expressly, and in many others tacitly and half unconsciously modified. The second deals in a similar way with the State Governments and gives some account of the systems of rural and city governments which have been created in the various States, and which form, to say the least, an extremely interesting subject of study. The Third deals with the political parties, and sketches the organizations which have been instituted for winning elections and securing office. The object of the Fourth Part is to

sketch the leading political ideas, habits and tendencies of the people and to show how they express themselves in action. Part V. contains a number of illustrations, drawn from recent American history, of the working of the political institutions and public opinion, together with a number of very pregnant reflections on the merits and demerits of American democracy. The Sixth and last Part is devoted to the Social Institutions of the United States and deals with many topics of great interest, such, for instance, as the Bar and Bench, the Universities, the Churches, the Clergy, the influence of Religion, the position of women, the influence of democracy on thought, the relation of the United States to Europe, American oratory, the pleasantness and uniformity of American life. But to indicate all the topics of interest on which Mr. Bryce dwells is here impossible. There is not a chapter in the whole of his three bulky volumes which is not instructive. Description and criticism occur in almost every chapter and several are devoted wholly to the latter. There are three chapters in the last volume which will be read with special attention, but more particularly the last of them which discusses the question—How far American experience is available for Europe. From this it will be seen that Mr. Bryce's admiration of the American institutions is very qualified, and that even the Americans, proud of their institutions as they are, are alive to the fact that they have still some things to learn from the older countries, and that their own experiments are not in every respect to be imitated. Of the literary ability which the volumes exhibit it is needless to speak. In this country, at least, Mr. Bryce's work is without a rival, and its excellence will make it a standard work on the subject wherever the English language is spoken or understood.

*A Hand-Book to the Land-Charters, and other Saxon Documents.* By JOHN EARLE, M.A. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1888.

A manual of this kind has long been a desideratum. The collections of Kemble and Thorpe and the volumes now being issued by Mr. de Gray Birch, besides being expensive, are unhandy as text-books, and unsuitable for beginners. That Professor Earle's book has out-grown its original design will be to those who have to use it a matter of congratulation. The first intention, it would seem, was to print 'just a few specimens of land-charters, so grouped as to exhibit roughly the contrast of genuine and spurious.' But the work has now been developed into a considerable body of documents, arranged as primary and secondary, and as far as may be, in chronological order, and does much more than bring out the contrast originally intended. The first sheets betray some traces of this alteration in the original design, but while gaining in size, the work has gained also in value and utility, and will be found an admirable introduction to the study of the larger collections. The genuine or primary records are divided by Professor Earle into two sections, the dated and the undated. The first range from the beginning of the Seventh Century to the middle of the Eleventh, while the latter belong wholly to the Eleventh Century. The Secondary Documents are arranged in fifteen groups. The first comprises documents which are preserved in single sheets, as the primary records are, but which, unlike them, are not contemporaneous with the date assigned to the transaction. Their date is probably not later than the Eleventh Century. Those comprised in the remaining groups are mostly taken from such works as the Worcester Chartulary, the Rochester Book, the Crediton Roll, and the Liber Albus at Wells. Excepting the first, which is a genuine document, group three is a series of fabrications, all bearing

the name of King Athelstane. The dates between which the documents of this division range are from the Ninth to the Fifteenth Century. The notes, critical and explanatory, which Professor Earle has written for these documents, are, as need hardly be said, extremely helpful. The student will find much in them that throws light both upon the text and upon the laws and customs of the periods to which the records belong. Specially valuable is the introduction which Professor Earle has prefixed to the work. Though it runs to more than a hundred pages it is not a bit too long. In it, besides dealing with the character, form and construction of the documents, he throws new light on the manorial system, and the Donation of Æthelwulf, and leaves little doubt that the practice of dating from the year of the Incarnation was originated by the Venerable Bede, and spread into universal use throughout Christendom from England.

*Letters from and to Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq.* Edited by ALEXANDER ALLARDYCE. With a Memoir by the Rev. W. K. R. BEDFORD. 2 vols. Edinburgh and London: Wm. Blackwood and Sons, 1888.

Forty years ago, Mr. Kirkpatrick Sharpe was a well-known figure in Edinburgh, and though he is not even at this distance of time by any means forgotten, the publication of these two bulky volumes will go a long way to keep alive his memory and to perpetuate his name. The contents of the volumes divide themselves into two parts, or to be more exact, into four. First of all we have the preface, in which Mr. Allardyce modestly states the difficulties he has had to deal with in compiling the volumes, and the generous assistance he has received. Next we have a Memoir of Mr. Kirkpatrick Sharpe, written by the Rev. W. K. R. Bedford. Then come the letters, most of them from Mr. Kirkpatrick Sharpe, and many of them to him. And lastly, we have a number of excellent prints, several of them coloured, all of which add to the attractiveness of the volumes. Each volume, we should also add, besides an extensive table of contents, is supplied with a carefully compiled index. The Memoir is written with discrimination and good taste, and tells all that needs to be told of its subject's somewhat uneventful outward life. Sharpe was born at Hoddam Castle, in Dumfriesshire, May 15th, 1781. His family, we are told, is connected with the anti-Covenanting interest of the South-west of Scotland, with Grierson of Lag, of persecuting notoriety, and with the Jacobite Provost of Dumfries who figures in *Redgauntlet*. Kirkpatrick Sharpe claimed also that his family was connected with the royal race of Stuart, and frequently alluded to the fact. He was educated at Edinburgh, and afterwards at Christ Church, Oxford, where he took his degree in 1806. Of the social life at Oxford, he has little that is good to say. He never liked it, and was well pleased when his examinations were over and he was no longer compelled to reside there. At the same time, he thoroughly appreciated the numerous opportunities and facilities Oxford offered for antiquarian and literary studies, and was not slow to avail himself of them. Its libraries and picture galleries were his constant resort, and his turn for caustic comment, and talent for sketching and caricature, soon won him friends among the best society there. On the death of his father, in 1813, he settled in Edinburgh, and for the rest of his life resided at No. 93 Princes Street. He occupied himself with collecting books and pictures, with sketching, with letter-writing, and with the preparation of his various publications, most of which were of an antiquarian or historical kind. He rarely travelled, and might be seen almost any day of the week between one and two in the afternoon, setting out in the quaint dress he affected,

for the purpose, it seems, of not appearing odd, on his constitutional. The correspondence here published divides itself into two parts—the first consisting of the letters which passed between Sharpe and his Oxford friends, and those which he wrote from Oxford. The rest, like many of those just mentioned, belong to the Edinburgh period, but differ from them in the fact that they deal chiefly with literary and antiquarian matters, and were addressed to, or received from, correspondents with whom he had become acquainted on account of his work. Admirably as the editor has performed the task of selection, it is almost to be regretted that room has not been found for more letters of this class; for whatever may be thought of the others, it is on these, we imagine, that the greatest store will in future be set. Sharpe was one of the band of men who, at the beginning of the century, helped to make Edinburgh much more of a literary centre than it is now, and was acquainted with most of the men who have shed so great a lustre on the period. Among his correspondents were Sir Walter Scott, Chalmers, Laing, Allan Cunningham, Lockhart, Robert Chambers, Motherwell, Maidment, and Harrison Ainsworth. The letters from and to these are all full of interest, both on account of their contents and their manner. Sharpe's letters, indeed, are always either interesting or amusing. He was wonderfully well informed, and has always some odd piece of information to convey, and besides, as need hardly be said, his pen was as sharp as his tongue, and his caustic temper comes out in almost every line. Some of the expressions belong to the last, rather than to the present century. It would be easy to fill page after page with amusing or interesting extracts; the only difficulty would be in selecting. Mr. Allardyce has done his work well—as well as the editor of the *Ochertyre* papers might have been expected to do, and that is saying a good deal.

*Life and Opinions of Major-General Sir Charles Metcalfe Macgregor, K.C.B., &c., &c.* Edited by LADY MACGREGOR. 2 vols. Edinburgh and London: Wm. Blackwood & Sons. 1888.

Readers of Military Biography will find a rare treat in the elaborate and intensely interesting account which Lady Macgregor has here issued respecting her late gallant husband. Sir Charles was every inch a soldier, passionately devoted to his profession, and the Indian army has had the privilege of producing few more capable military writers, and few who have deserved so well of their country. Naturally shy and reserved, and sometimes during the earlier part of his career not speaking half-a-dozen words at the mess-table, when a chance of crossing swords with the enemy appeared he immediately brightened up, threw off his reserve, and chatted away merrily. Of fear he knew nothing; he was as cool and collected in the greatest danger as if on the parade ground. Joining the Indian army as an ensign in 1856, he has left behind him a brilliant record. He was through the Mutiny, marching under Outram to the relief of Lucknow, when he had several narrow escapes, and was three times wounded. He served with Fane's Horse in China, and was publicly mentioned in the House of Commons by Lord Herbert, then the Secretary for War, for the gallant manner in which with some twenty-five mounted Sikhs he charged a force of one hundred and fifty Tartar horsemen, routed them, and rescued half a battery of Artillery they were on the point of capturing. In this affair he was wounded in five places, and expected, as others also expected, that he would have received the Victoria Cross for his gallantry; but for some reason or other he did not, much to his own and his friends' disappointment. On the conclusion of peace with China he rejoined

Hodson's Horse in India, in which he was second in command. He next saw service in Bhutan, first as Brigade-Major, then as Deputy Assistant-Quartermaster General. He served under Sir Robert Napier in the Abyssinian campaign, and was present at the fall of Magdala. Subsequently he accompanied General Roberts as Chief of the Staff, and commanded a brigade during the brilliant march to Khandahar. For five years he held the office of Quartermaster-General in India; and but a few months before his death resigned the command of the Punjab Frontier Force. His disappointments were frequent and bitter. Though not unrewarded, there are few men who have done so much to whom the honours due to them have been served out with so grudging a hand. Want of friends at Head Quarters and his own outspokenness seem to have stood in his way. It seems hard to believe, however, that professional jealousy had not something to do with it. As a writer on military matters Sir Charles has had few rivals. A thorough-going reformer, he was anxious to put the Indian army in a state of perfect efficiency, and was profoundly impressed with the necessity for preparing to ward off any attacks which may be made upon the country from the north. His work on *The Defence of India* produced quite a scare, and was immediately suppressed by the Government. It is now looked upon, however, as one of the best authorities on the subject. There is much in these two volumes which is both instructive and entertaining. Sir Charles Macgregor wrote in a clear and forcible way, and much that is here given from his letters and diaries is in every way well worth reading, while here and there are to be met with not a few incidents which help to make up the romance of war. The work has more than a passing interest, and will remain as the clear and attractive record both of the achievements and of the opinions of one of whom Lord Dufferin declared—'Not among the many distinguished captains I have known, could I mention one, who came nearer, in martial bearing, love of his profession, devotion to duty and knowledge of the art of war, to the ideal of a powerful, chivalrous warrior.'

*Principal Shairp and his Friends.* By WILLIAM KNIGHT.  
London: John Murray. 1888.

Principal Shairp's life was not an eventful one. The story of it might be told in a few pages. Professor Knight, however, with the help of Principal Shairp's friends, has written a fairly large book about him. The work is less a memoir and more an attempt to portray a rich and many-sided character in different aspects. Hence Professor Knight remarks in his Preface:—'In the pages which follow, I have merely tried to build a memorial cairn, with the stones which have been sent to me, in reverent and affectionate memory, by those who owe to him some of the best influences of their lives.' Among the many contributors are Professor Sellar and Professor Veitch, the Deans of Westminster and Salisbury, Mr. Butler of Oriel College, Oxford, Mr. Matthew Arnold, and the Archbishop of Canterbury. Professor Knight also contributes his own share of reminiscences. Condensation or omission here and there might have been of advantage, but on the whole few, we imagine, will be disposed to complain that the work is unduly long. That it abounds in interest need not be said. The various contributions throw light, not only on the character of one who instinctively won the admiration of all who knew him, but on much of the life of those among whom his friendships were formed. While reading them, one begins to realize the truth of Professor Knight's words—'He was something much rarer and finer than his writing or his teaching—admirable as these were. He impressed himself with equal power on men of all classes, tendencies and sympathies—on persons of the



highest culture, and on poor students. There are not many such men at any time in the world.' Professor Knight, however, has not only built a 'memorial cairn' 'with the stones sent to him,' as he says; he has also contributed much that is interesting respecting Principal Shairp's literary work, and made use of a number of letters from such as Erskine of Linlathen and the author of *Rab and his Friends*. In short, *Principal Shairp and his Friends* is a work, which for the present generation, at least, has more than ordinary interest. It is one of those books, too, which, because they bring before us a bright and sunny nature, full of enthusiasm, and always animated by pure and lofty ideals, deserve to be read not only for the genial spirit by which they are pervaded, but also for the impulses their perusal awakens.

*The Complete Poetical Works of William Wordsworth.* With an Introduction by JOHN MORLEY. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1888.

If ever an edition of Wordsworth's poems deserved to be called complete, it is the one which the Messrs. Macmillan have now issued, and for which Mr. John Morley has written an introduction. It contains all that Wordsworth ever printed, and one piece, which, though he more than once referred to it, he did not print. It here sees the light for the first time, and is simultaneously published in a separate form for the benefit of those who are already in possession of what has hitherto been a complete collection of the poet's works. It is entitled 'The Recluse,' and contains the first book of the first part of the great poem to which the *Prelude* was intended to serve as an introduction, and of which the *Excursion* was to be the second part. The third part was only planned, no part of it being written. The fragment now issued contains many fine passages, with one of which readers of Wordsworth are already well acquainted, it having been cited by him in the preface to the *Excursion*. Another occurs near the beginning. When speaking of his sister, he says:

'Mine eyes did ne'er  
Fix on a lovely object, nor my mind  
Take pleasure in the midst of happy thoughts,  
But either She whom now I have, who now  
Divides with me this loved abode, was there  
Or not far off, where'er my footsteps turned,  
Her voice was like a hidden Bird that sang.  
The thought of her was like a flash of light,  
Or an unseen companionship, a breath  
Of fragrance independent of the Wind,  
In all my goings, in the new and old  
Of all my meditations, and in this  
Favourite of all, in this the most of all.'

The poems themselves are all arranged as near as may be in their chronological order, and a table is given at the beginning of the dates at which they were severally written or printed. The various prefaces also and Wordsworth's notes and appendices are given. And further, we have a bibliography of Wordsworth, a list of biographies and critical articles on his writings, and an index to the poems with another to the first line of each poem. In short, nothing has been left undone to make the edition as complete as possible. Not a few will turn with interest to the Introduction. They will not be disappointed. The criticism is discriminating, and few will not regard Mr. Morley's estimate of Wordsworth's ability and position as poet as other than just.



**SHORT NOTICES.**—To the series of manuals entitled 'By-paths of Bible Knowledge,' the Religious Tract Society has recently added two excellent little volumes. The first is a second volume on *Scripture Natural History* and deals with *The Animals of the Bible*. Its author is Mr. Henry Chichester Hart, B.A. It is well supplied with illustrations, and though sprinkled here and there with Arabic, Hebrew, and Greek names, is simple and intelligible. It is one of those books which readers of the Bible do well to have always by them. The other volume is by Professor Sayce, and deals with *The Story of a Forgotten Empire*, the Empire being that of the Hittites, of whom so much is said in the early parts of the Old Testament but of whom so little is known, and who, until almost the other day, were never supposed to have formed an empire or to have been more than a small nomadic tribe. Though not so full as Dr. Wright's book, Professor Sayce's, which is not a fourth the size or price, contains a very lucid and interesting account of the resurrection of this long forgotten people. The freshest, it is perhaps the most valuable volume yet included in the series. To the 'Christian Classics Series' also we have two additions. The first is the valuable little treatise of St. Basil the Great, *On the Holy Spirit*; the other, Tyndale's *Obedience of a Christian Man*. Both volumes are handsomely printed and bound. To the first the Rev. George Lewis has added a brief Life of St. Basil and a number of excellent notes. To the 'Church History Series' has been added *A Short History of the Council of Trent* by the Rev. T. Rhys Evans, the materials for which have been drawn for the most part from Sarpi.

To Messrs. Nisbet's 'Men of the Bible Series' Professor Cheyne's *Jeremiah: His Life and his Times*, is a very valuable addition, and will attract the attention of a much more learned and critical class of readers than that for which the series seems to have been at first intended. *Jesus Christ the Divine Man: His Life and Times*, by the Rev. J. F. Vallings, M.A., is another addition to the same series. 'While the moral and spiritual aspects of the Life have been placed in the foreground, every effort,' the author tells us, 'has been made to present the physical and social environment briefly, yet accurately, in the light of modern research.' The volume is learned, but at the same time popular, and is pervaded by a profound conviction of the Divinity of our Lord and a reverential spirit. A further addition is the Rev. H. Deane's painstaking and commendable volume entitled *Daniel, his Life and Times*. Mr. Deane has read widely and written a work which is both popular and instructive.

The Rev. J. A. Kerr Bain's *The People of the Pilgrimage* (Macniven & Wallace), is a second series of expository studies on Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* regarded as a book of character. The characters here studied are Helpers, False Pilgrims, and Enemies. Mr. Bain has made the famous allegory the subject of devout study. He writes vigorously, and illustrates the text of Bunyan from modern life.

*The English Church in the Middle Ages*, by the Rev. W. H. Hunt, and *The Popes and the Hohenstaufen*, by Ugo Balzani, are the most recent additions we have received to Messrs. Longman's 'Epochs of Church History' Series. The first is an excellent little volume and gives a very vivid account of the establishment of the hierarchy in England, and of the effect which the Church had on the social, political and religious life of the country. The second carries the reader out to a wider field of European politics during one of the stormiest periods in the history of Christendom.

**NEW EDITIONS.**—Professor Calderwood's *Handbook of Philosophy* (Macmillan) has reached its fourteenth edition, which says much both for its

popularity and excellence. A circulation of over fourteen thousand copies is not often reached by any book, and might suggest to most authors that improvement or revision was unnecessary. Not so Professor Calderwood. The present edition has been in a large measure re-written. Its principal features, Professor Calderwood says, are the introduction of illustrations of the structure of nerve and brain; reconstruction of large portions of the discussion of fundamental questions, including reference to the most recent speculations on Evolution, enlargement of the portion dealing with the existence of the First Cause, and fuller bibliographical references. These improvements will make the book still more acceptable both to teachers and students.

Mr. R. Holt Hutton's *Essays, Theological and Literary* (Macmillan) have been before the public for upwards of seventeen years, and are here issued in a third and cheaper edition. As before they are distributed into two volumes, one containing the Theological and the other the Literary Essays. On the former no alterations have been made; they are the same as in the second edition. Among the Literary Essays those on 'Shelley and his Poetry,' and 'Mr. Browning,' have been recast and brought down to date; use being made in the former of Professor Dowden's *Life of Shelley*, to the manifest improvement of the Essay. Mr. Hutton, while giving Professor Dowden all credit for the frankness with which he has dealt with the strange paradoxes in Shelley's nature, points out that if he has missed anything of a grave importance in his estimate of Shelley's life, 'it is the impressiveness of the lesson which that life embodies against those loose Godwinian doctrines concerning marriage with which he identified himself, and by which his life at every turn was poisoned and spoiled.' In their present shape these Essays will undoubtedly prove themselves acceptable to a still wider circle of readers.

*The Scot in Ulster*, by John Harrison (Blackwood's), is a reproduction of a series of articles, now recast and thrown into a permanent shape, which originally appeared in the *Scotsman*. It is written from an Unionist's point of view, and shows considerable research. Of the Dalriadic Scots it says nothing, but deals simply with the history of the Lowland Scots who were settled there at a much later period.

Want of space compels us simply to mention the following:—*The Philosophy of Religion*, by Dr. Otto Pfeiderer, translated by A. Menzies, B.D., vol. iv. (Williams & Norgate); *Spiritual Life and other Sermons*, by the Rev. J. E. C. Wellden (Macmillan); *An Examination of the Theory of Evolution*, by George Gresswell (Williams & Norgate); *A Manual of Christian Baptism*, by J. Agar Beet (Hodder & Stoughton); *Some Contributions to the Religious Thought of our Time*, by the Rev. James M. Wilson, M.A. (Macmillan); *The Natural History of Local Boards* (Simpkin, Marshall & Co.); *Practical Geometry*, by John Carroli (Burns & Oates); *Christianity made Science*, by the Rev. Thomas Prescott, M.A. (Williams & Norgate); *A False Step*, by Andrew Stewart (Oliphant); *Quiet Folk*, by R. Menzies Fergusson, M.A. (Simpkin, Marshall & Co.); *Hylomorphism of Thought Being*, by the Rev. Thomas Quentin Fleming (Williams & Norgate); *L'Idéalisme en Angleterre au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, par Georges Lyon (Alcan); *Tropical Africa* by Henry Drummond (Hodder & Stoughton); A new and cheaper edition of *The Lives of Robert and Mary Moffat* (Fisher Unwin).